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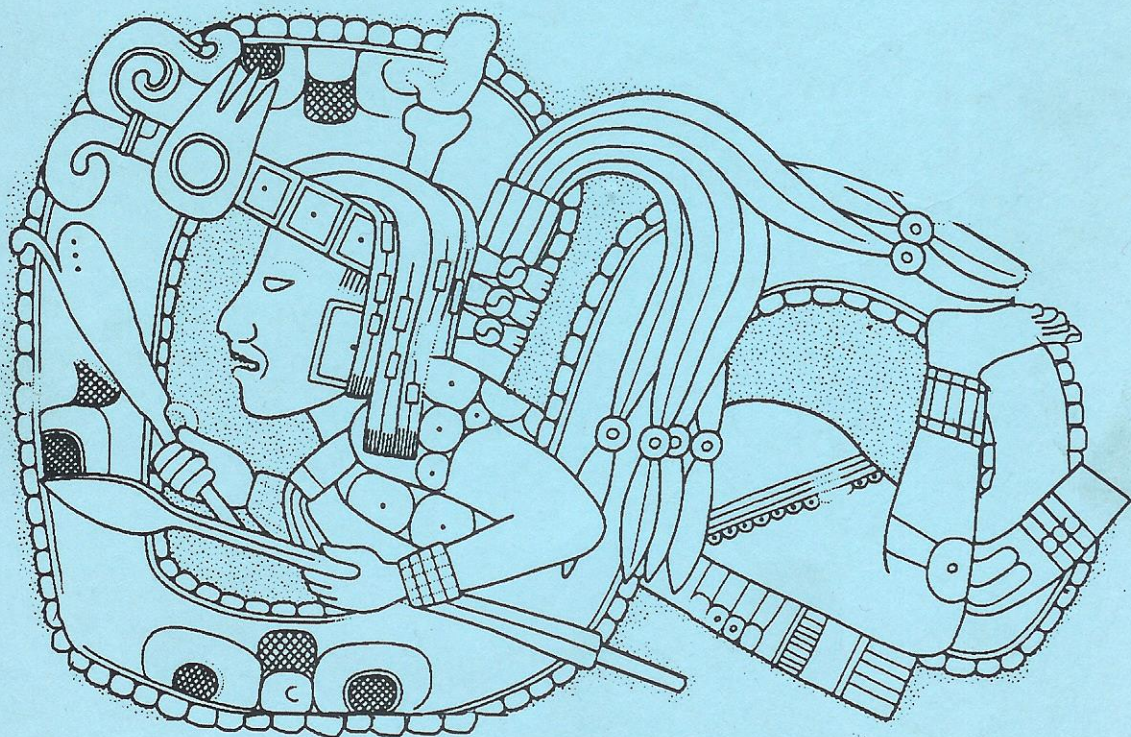
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Notebook for the XIXth

Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop at Texas

by
Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube

March 9-18, 1995

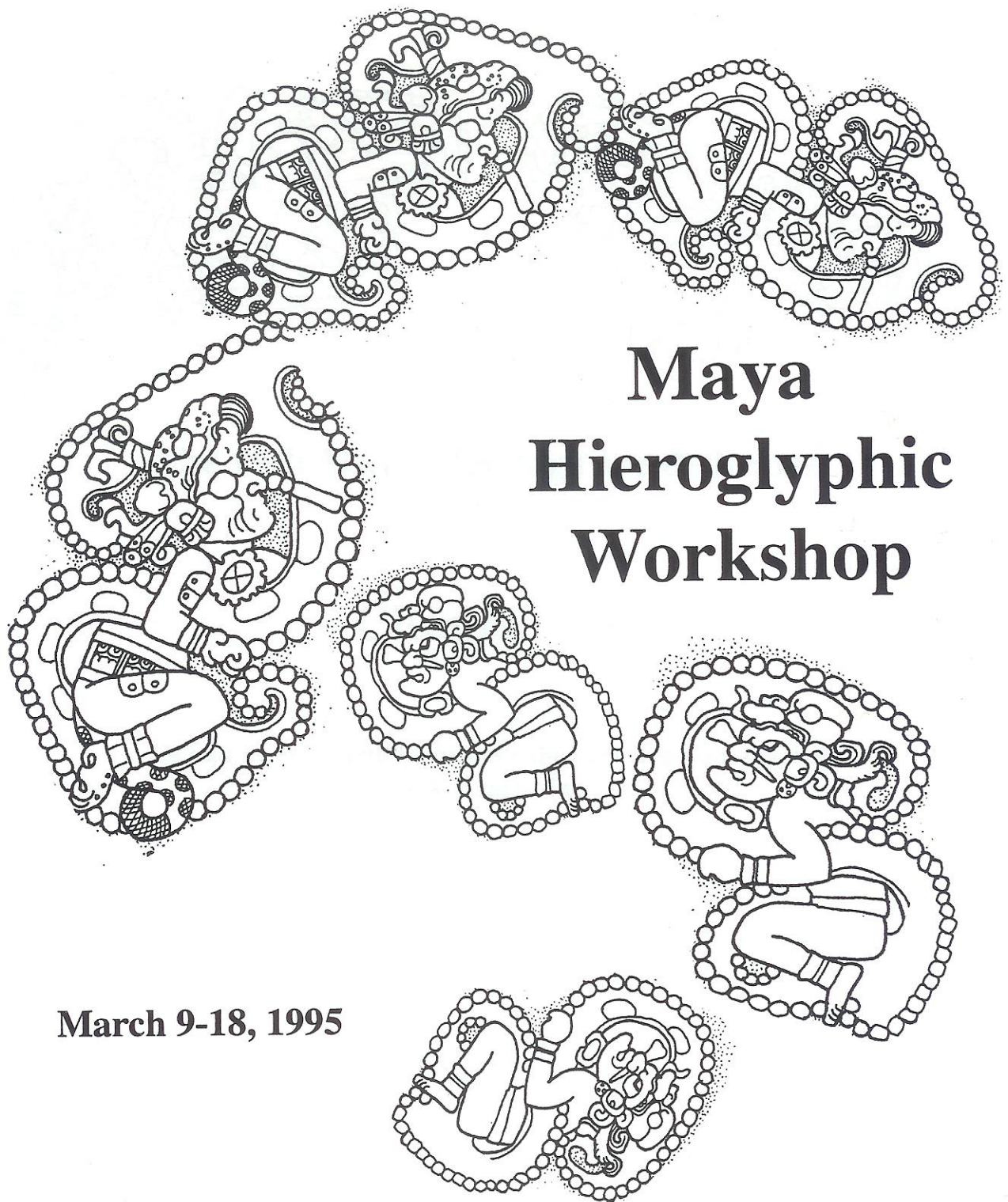


The University of Texas at Austin

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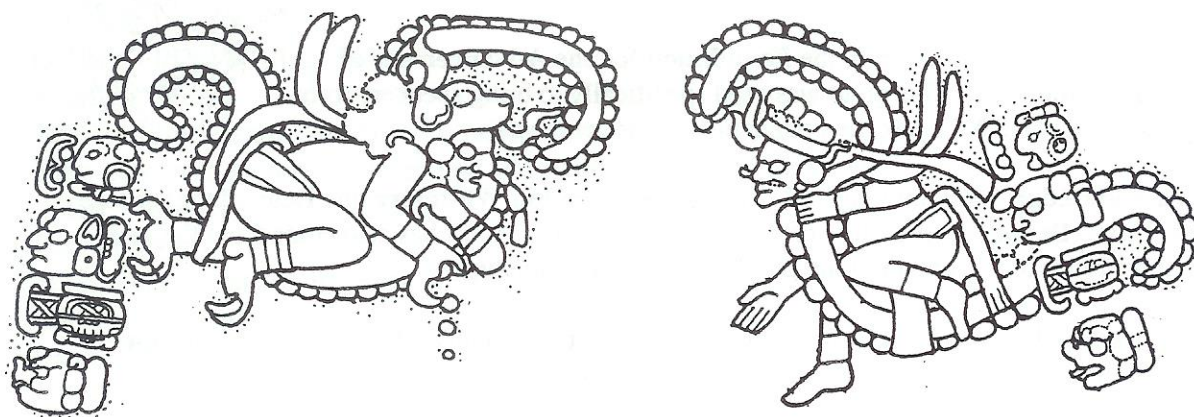


Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop

March 9-18, 1995

Department of Art and Art History, the College of Fine
Arts, and the Institute of the Latin American Studies

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**The 19th Maya Meetings are dedicated
to**

Chester Lay

**He had been a participant since the very beginning. All of
us will miss him.**

Acknowledgments

We want to give a special thanks to the **Selz Foundation** for the very generous gift it gave to the Meetings this year. **Bernard Selz** has been a long term and important supporter of the workshops.

This year we also received a grant from the **Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc.** This grant was used specifically to bring speakers from Latin American to Austin. We thank the Foundation for its generosity.

We wish to acknowledge the continuing and vital support from **Jon Whitmore**, the Dean of the College of Fine Arts; **David Demming**, the Chair of the Art Department. Support has also come from the Jack Taylor Regents Professorship and the John D. Murchison Professorship.

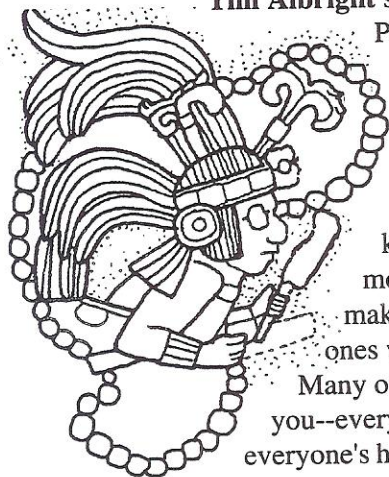
We thank **Whole Earth Provision Co.** for their continuing support, and **Walter Wakefield** and **Janet Learmouth** for the creation and donation of the t-shirts.

We want to thank **Ruta Maya Coffee** for their contribution to the 1995 workshop and their status as an ongoing supporter of the Maya Meetings. They provided all our beverages in last year's and this year's meetings--a contribution for which all the participants are grateful.

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Tim Albright saved us with last year's Notebook. Like an idiot, Linda killed the Pagemaker files with the 1994 segment of the history. Tim has been reconstituting them for us.



Finally, I would like to thank my own graduate students. They took on the enormous task of cleaning up my house before the workshop and they helped **Peter Keeler** enormously. Their help and support keeps me sane during the month before and after the Maya Meetings, but most of all, they create the community of people and an ambience that makes these meetings succeed. They are what it is all about and they are the ones who makes it work.

Many other people have answered our call for donations large and small. Thank you--every little bit helps. We could not hold the Maya Meetings without everyone's help.

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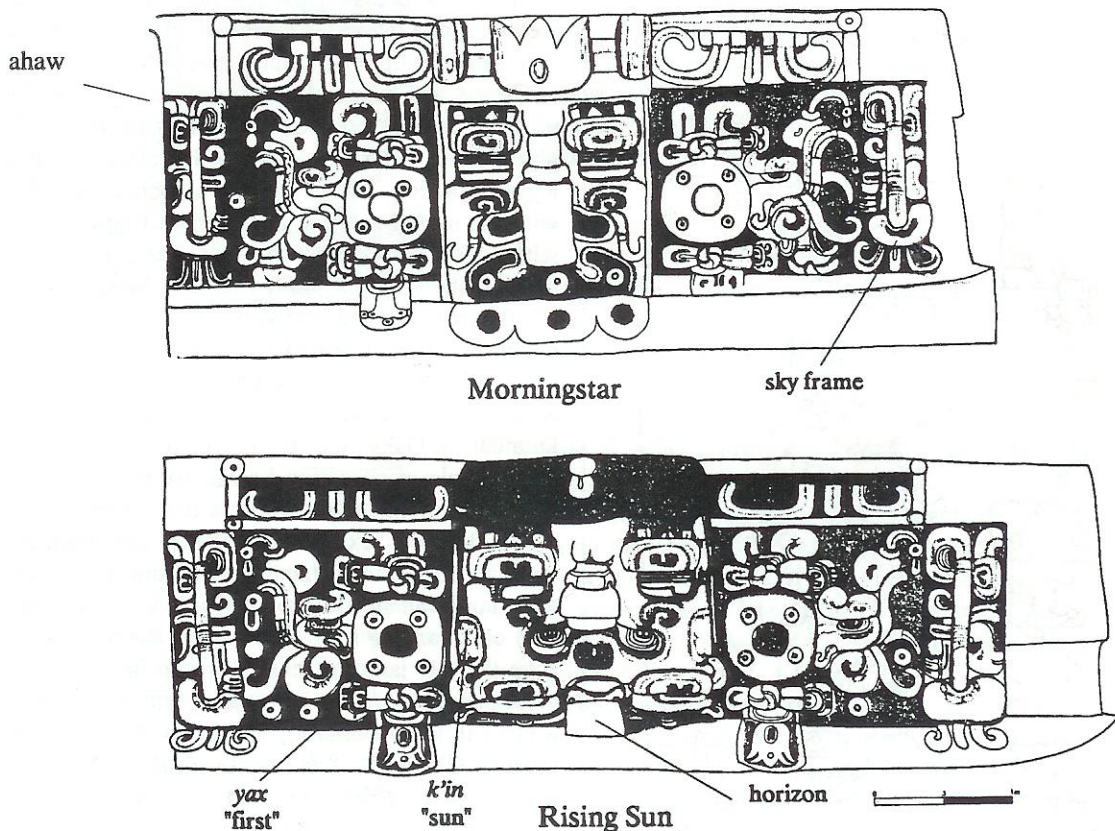
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Origins of the Writing System

The Lowland Maya did not invent writing in Mesoamerica; rather, they inherited the idea of writing from an earlier cultural period between 600 B.C. and A.D. 50. The earliest examples of Maya glyphs with known values and from known archaeological contexts in the Maya Lowlands, appear at the site of Cerros in Northern Belize at 50 B.C. Three signs, *ahaw* "lord," *k'in* "sun," and *yax* "first," occur in iconographic contexts which confirm their readings to be the same as those deciphered in Classic texts. Other undated texts from this Late Preclassic period show consistency in graphic configuration and formatting with later texts, placing the beginnings of the Classic Maya

writing system in the period from 200 B.C. to 50 A.D.

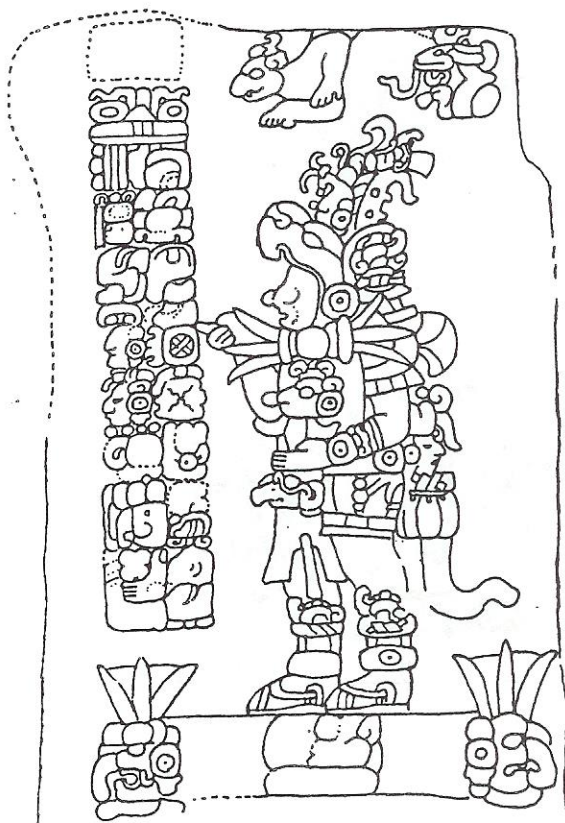
The earliest readable text is found on a reused Olmec jade in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks; it can be dated stylistically as approximately contemporary to the Cerros examples. The Dumbarton Oaks jade has no date, but like others texts of its type, it is organized in a left-to-right format in double columns reading top to bottom, and glyph blocks include both main signs and affixes. In his 1966 commentary on this text, Mike Coe noticed that the bird-head and crossed-bands signs behind the figure's head also occurs twice in the text at B6, where the crossed-bands shape overlays the



Cerros Masks from Structure 5C-2nd



eye of the bird, and at C2-B2, where the crossed-bands and bird signs occupy different blocks. He proposed that this Crossed-bands/Bird glyph named the personage shown in the scene. We can



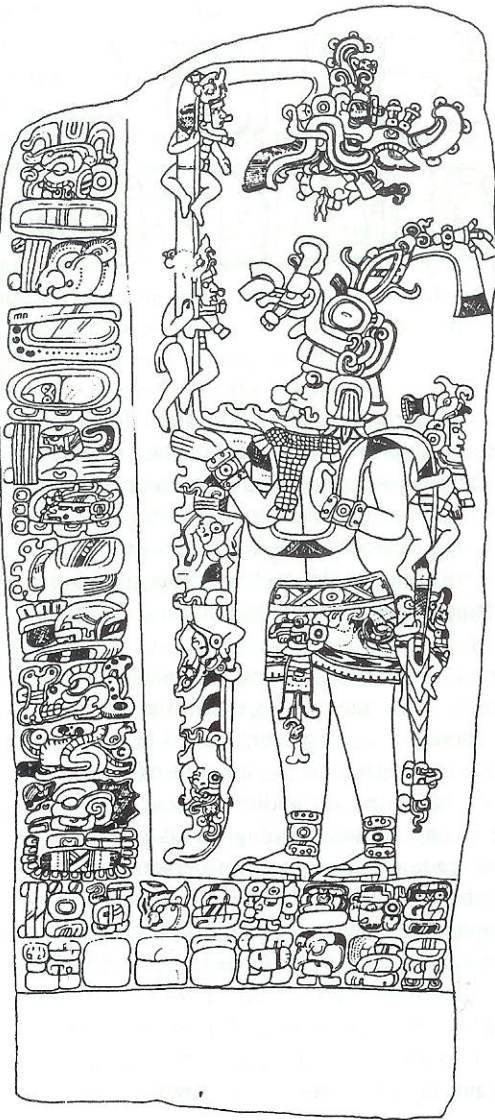
San Diego Cliff drawing



Dumbarton Oaks jade, the rear text

assume that this person is a ruler because he is seated in the cross-legged position of the elite and wears regalia directly associated with contemporary symbols of supernatural and political power at Cerros and Kaminaljuyu and with royal regalia of the Classic period. Coe also noticed that the glyph at A5 records a lower body seated in cross legged position, but he did not associate this glyph with the seated position of the main figure nor with T700, now known to record the act of accession by showing the lower half of a body assuming the cross-legged seated position. The title into which the ruler is seated is an early version of the T518 title, which records accession for Smoking-Squirrel of Naranjo and Pakal of Palenque. The Dumbarton Oaks jade, therefore, records the earliest example of accession known from the Maya corpus, unfortunately without a date in the text.

Two different texts illustrate other important developments in the earlier stages of the writing system. Ian Graham has provided me with a drawing of a cliff carving from San Diego, Guatemala. Like the DO jade the text is written in a double column format, but it includes a date written with a tzolk'in (now missing), and Initial Series Introductory Glyph, 18 Yax, the Lord of the Night, and Glyph F. 1992: The verb is the T757 auxiliary verb and the T712 *ch'am*, "harvest," verb. The emblem glyph is that of Yaxha, so that we know now that kingdom existed in the Late Pre-classic-Early Classic juncture.



Hauberg Stela

The same verb and unusual calendric format recurs on the Hauberg Stela, a miniature stela of unknown provenience. The date is recorded as ISIG, 12 Xul, G5, unknown, 17C, and 3 Ahaw. The verb read *yax ch'am tu ch'ul*, "first harvesting of his soul-stuff." It is probably the protagonist's first bloodletting before his accession. The first clause is followed by a distance number of 52 days and the same T518 accession event that appears on the DO Jade. Thus the three earliest texts now known record accession events with the T518 title and blood-letting with the T712 glyph, and two of

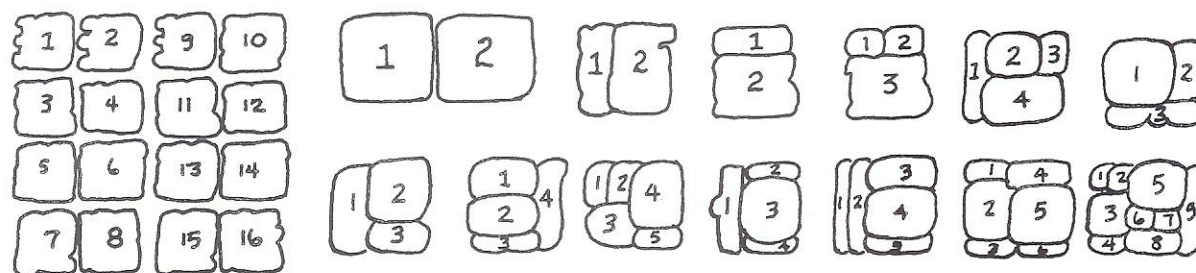
them have dates with the ISIG, tzolk'in, and haab in unorthodox orders.

The fact that ISIG glyphs occur without Long Count dates in both examples suggests that the Long Count and the final format used with dates in the Classic period were not in place in the Late Preclassic period. Furthermore, this early format of the ISIG with a calendar round date, but without a long count notation was used on Tikal Stela 4 a hundred years later, perhaps as a deliberate recall of earlier forms. Since the Long Count is absent and the date format violates the Classic canon in these early texts, it seems likely that the Long Count was borrowed along with the stela format from Maya speaking groups in the Highlands where the Long Count seems to have a longer history and usage. It should also be noted that the earliest examples of writing in the lowland area have been found in association with the dramatic growth of monumental public works and that the events recorded concern public rites and the legitimization of royal office. It seems that writing became an important social tool for the lowland Maya as they developed highly stratified society and the religious and political foundations for its existence.

Reading Order

Maya texts are written in a right-angled grid that, in general, reads left to right and top to bottom in columns of two. Each pair of columns is read its entire length, followed by the next pair of columns, and so on. Exceptions to this general rule of reading order are known, especially in texts on lintels and small portable items, but unusual reading orders are easily detectable by examining the order of numbers in calendric phrases; by looking for known phrases or structures, such as name phrases or titles, or by comparing unusual texts to others of the same kind or at the same site.

The reading order of individual components within any one glyph block (one section of the grid) usually follows the same reading order as the full text, that is left to right and top to bottom. Single unit glyphs are usually logographs representing whole words. Multiple component glyphs may also represent one word, but one containing affixes or additional grammatical parts. The function



of the various affixes differ and all are not yet understood. Some, for instance, represent grammatical parts such as person markers and articles, while others function as derivational or inflectional affixes. Reading order of the affixes is fairly simple; those above or in front of the larger main signs are read first with a left to right preference. Affixes below or behind are read after main signs, again with a left to right preference, although in both situations reading order can be altered by size considerations. If there are two affixed signs, the one occupying the entire border is read first if it is in front or above the main sign, and last if it is below or behind.

A single glyph block can contain more than one word, but when multiple words are combined, they are usually recognized phrases. Often, word or "expression" boundaries are indicated by some graphic convention, such as depth of carving or regular alignment within a secondary grid.

The Maya often used phrases containing more than one word, and they could arrange these phrases in many different ways without altering the reading of the phrase. One of the most frequently used phrases was that of the "tun seating," consisting of a sign for "seating" and a sign for "tun" (a year of 360 days). In example 1, this phrase is written with each logograph occupying an independent glyph block. In example 2, the logographs are combined into a **compound** glyph in which both signs appear in one block with the distinct contours of each retained. In a compound glyph, the left sign is often **suppressed**, or drawn

as if it is partially behind the other sign. In example 3, the *tun* glyph is placed within the "seating" glyph by **infixing** it, but as with the compound glyph, the contours of both signs are retained. In example 4, the distinct features of both graphemes are placed within a single contour. This merging of two distinct signs into one is known as a **conflation**.

Any one of these arrangements can occur in any text and more than one can be used in a single text. The choice of arrangement seems to have depended to some degree on the amount of space available to the scribe. In addition, most glyphs can occur in any of these arrangements in either abstract (or geometric) form or in personified form, which in turn can be either anthropomorphic or zoomorphic, and in head or full figure form. One of the most difficult tasks of decipherment is to determine those features which differentiate one glyph from another and those features which are merely variation in style or arrangement, but not characteristic of a different sign.

The Writing System and How it Works

Today the majority of working epigraphers agree that the Maya hieroglyphic writing system was a phonetic system that contained signs representing whole words and signs representing the sounds of syllables, usually in the form of a consonant and vowel. Some of the word signs were pictographic, that is they pictured the object recorded. A good example of this kind of sign is the use of a jaguar head to represent the word *balam* "jaguar". Since the nineteenth century, however, there has been vigorous and often bitter debate about the presence and number of signs that represent phonetic units without a reference to meaning. The debate has



been resolved today and to the surprise of many of us who began working in the seventies, the writing system is far more phonetic than we ever imagined.

Proskouriakoff and Berlin never accepted phonetism at all, but they pioneered a structural approach that requires no assumptions about the nature and languages of the writing system. Their approach utilized comparative analyses of glyphs and phrases within the full corpus of texts, and within the context of established knowledge about the Maya calendar and arithmetic system. The inscriptions were studied with the assumption that the contents were largely historical, and great attention was given to the careful study of the relationship of glyphs and phrases to the scenes which accompany them. Readings in the original language of the inscriptions were suggested rarely and with extraordinary caution, and all assignments of meaning were made in the working language of the scholar, not in Maya (except where the field had traditionally used Maya terms as jargon). This "historical" method is today the most widely applied and accepted approach, and it remains the foundation of the syntactical and phonetic methodologies that we teach in the Texas meetings.

Today's approach starts with the methodology pioneered by Proskouriakoff and Berlin, but we go beyond it to propose "readings" of particular glyphs in the Maya languages. In our studies, we use information from linguistics about the syntax, morphology, and grammar of Mayan languages, and we try to deal with the larger structure of the clause to generate "paraphrased" interpretations, rather than to concentrate on individual glyphs. Kathryn Josserand has elaborated this basic approach into "discourse analysis" in which the entire text is studied for larger patterns of information presentation and intent. The Maya writing system fully realized spoken language and could record every nuance of sound, grammar, syntax, and literary convention that the Maya required.

The writing systems has the following kinds of signs:

1. A **logograph** is the sign which represents the sound and meaning of a whole word. A pictograph, which is the iconic representation of an object, is a kind of logograph. There are a great many logographs in the Maya Corpus, including,

among others, representations of animals, various kinds of objects from costume and environment, and supernaturals.

2. A **rebus** sign is sign that represents the sound of one word by using another that has the same sound. Rebus signs are very rare. In fact only one has been clearly demonstrated. John Justeson ("An interpretation of the Classic Maya hieroglyphic spelling of 'east'.") has shown that the word for "plate," *lak* was used in the "east" glyph to record *lak*, "next." Perhaps rebus signs are rare, because they can introduce ambiguity into the writing system. Because such rebus signs are polyvalent, they have multiple values which are not distinguishable except from the context. Are you to understand "plate sun" or "east" when you read the east glyph? Another problem with pictographs and rebus signs is that one sign can often have more than one potential reading. For example, there are two words for "shield" *chimal* and *pakal* in the Mayan languages; which word does the pictograph of a shield represent? In a system using rebus and logographic signs, any one sign can have only one sound, but multiple meanings. Or, the sign can have only one meaning, but multiple sound values. It can also contain both possibilities.

Ambiguity is reduced by two other kinds of signs (The terms were coined by Floyd Lounsbury after usages in cuneiform):

3. A **semantic determinative** is a sign used to tell the reader to use only one of several potential meanings. For example, suppose we were to use a picture of a "can" to stand as a rebus for the verb "can." Anyone trying to read such a system would know the sound for the sign is "can," but does the sign mean "can (container)" or "can (to be able)." We can distinguish these two meanings by showing a food label on the sign when it is to mean "can (container)," and letting the blank can represent "can (to be able)." The food label is a semantic determinative for the "can (container)" sign. There are two frequently used semantic determinatives used in the Maya writing system: the day sign cartouche that selects for the value as a day name in contrast to the phonetic values of the same signs, and the *ahaw* scarf that marks heads of all sorts as the title for "lord."

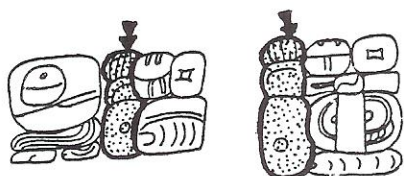
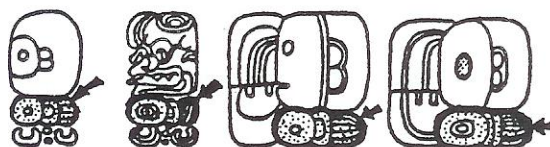
4. A **phonetic complement** is a sign used to indicate a particular pronunciation when the sign has

more than one possible sound value. Suppose we were to use the head of a cat in a pictographic system writing English. Potential readings for the head are "cat," "jaguar," "kitty," "pussy," "kitten," "panther," etc. By attaching a sign to the front of the head recording that the first sound of the word is CA, the reader would know that only the sound "cat" is appropriate to the reading. This is a phonetic complement. The syllabic signs used as complement also function in syllabic spellings of words by combining CV signs.

How Semantic Determinatives and Phonetic Complements Work

The Vultures

The use of semantic determinatives and phonetic complements in the writing system are most humorously demonstrated in the use of the vulture glyph in the Classic inscriptions. There are many terms for "vulture" in the Mayan languages, including *k'uch*, *ch'om*, *xulem*, *k'utz*, and *ta'hol*; since any of these might be a legitimate reading



for the "vulture" glyph, the reader cannot know from the glyph alone which is intended.

One of the most frequent uses of this vulture sign is as a substitute for the locative *ti* in the Anterior and Posterior Date Indicators and in the T684 and T644 accession expressions.

The use of the vulture head for the *ti* locative is based on the Chol term for the gray headed vulture *ta'hol*, literally "shit-head" (*ta'* "excrement" and *hol* "head"). The scribes use the *ta'* part of the word to stand for the locative (*ti*, *ta*, or *tä*, depending on the language). In this context, it is important to know that one should not use one of the words listed above and that "vulture" as a meaning has, in fact, nothing to do with how the sign reads. To ensure the correct phonetic value is read, a small *ti* sign is attached to the forehead of the vulture as a **phonetic complement**.

By comparing many T684 and T644 expressions for accession, it can be seen that another "vulture" sign can appear in addition to the *ti* vulture, but here the reading is very different. In these expressions, a verb, T684 or T644, is followed by a prepositional phrase, consisting of a preposition (usually *ti* or *ta*), a title, and the phonetic glyph *le*



hok'



ti



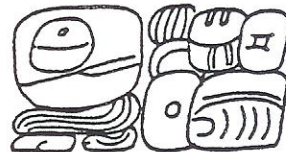
ahaw



le



hok' ti ahawle

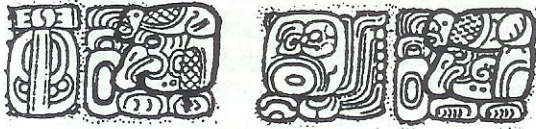


chumwan ti ahawle

(the allograph of Landa's *le* sign)

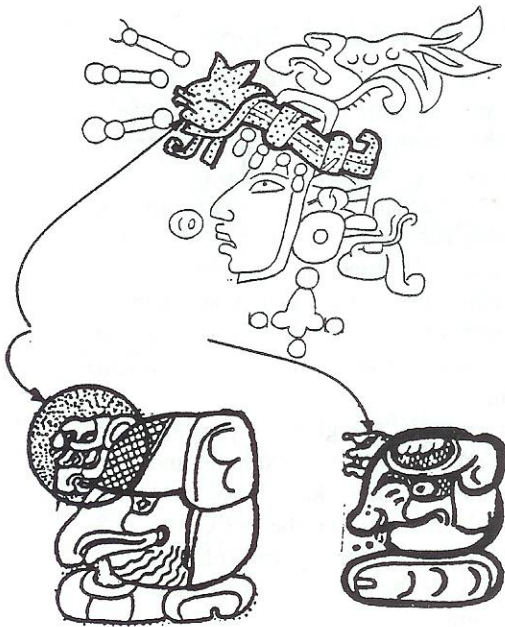
In many of these expressions, the title in the prepositional phrase is T168, read by Lounsbury as *ahpo* or *ahaw*, both terms for "lord." However, other titles can appear in this position, including T533 *ahaw* as well as the vulture sign. In this context, however, the vulture appears without a *ti* sign attached to its head; rather, it wears a head-dress scarf with an *ahaw* sign attached to the front. This same scarf is used with the T1000e

variant of *ahaw*, a young male head, normally read as *xib*. Furthermore, the scarf appears to change any sign, including the rodent head into versions of *ahaw*; it is a semantic determinative



obligating a meaning of "lord."

The origin of this scarf as a semantic determinative for *ahaw* has been traced to Late Preclassic objects in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and from Structure 5C-2nd at Cerros and Burial 85 at Tikal. All three objects show a lord or a supernatural wearing a headband marked with a tri-pointed



shape. On the Dumbarton Oaks jade, this shape appears in a personified form that can be associated with the Jester God of the Classic period. A number of *ahaw* personifications occur with the Jester God replacing T533 *ahaw* as the symbol attached

to the scarf. Furthermore, on Bonampak' Sculptural Panel 1, the act of being "seated on the jaguar throne in reign" is shown as the giving of this Jester God scarf to the incumbent ruler. To wear the scarf is to be the ruler; it is the most ancient Maya crown, and as such, it was used as the semantic determinative for *ahaw*.

Variants of the *ahaw* glyph can include phonetic complements as well as semantic determinatives. In the contexts of titles and Emblem Glyphs, *ahaw* as vulture or human occurs frequently with T130 - *wa* as a final phonetic sign designating the final



sound of the glyph. There are also a number of examples in which *ahaw* appears with a prefixed *a* as well as the *wa* suffix, spelling the word in full as well as writing it as a logograph.

The use of the scarf as a semantic determinative for *ahaw* is not confined to the accession expressions, but any of the variants discussed above can appear as *ahaw* in any context.

Phoneticism

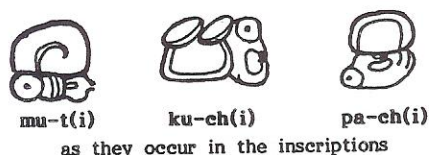
The question of the amount and kind of phoneticism in the Maya writing system has been the subject of a long and often bitter debate. Dave Kelley's book *Deciphering the Maya Script* and his article on "The History of Decipherment" recount the full history of these debates and the positions of their participants. To me, the question of phoneticism is no longer an issue; new readings have been consistently generated and tested many times and by scholars without vested interests in the debate. And although Thompson never accepted phoneticism, he did believe in the existence of rebus signs, a function in which a glyph is used for its phonetic value without reference to meaning.

The fiercest debate has centered on the work of Yuri Knorozov, who proposed a system of phonetic usage in which CVC (consonant-vowel-consonant) words are written with a combination of two CV signs in the form CV-C(V) with the final

vowel silent. He also proposed, in the principle of synharmony, that the second vowel in a CV-C(V) must echo or repeat the first whenever possible. The reaction of Maya scholars (with the exception of Dave Kelley, Mike Coe, and Floyd Lounsbury) to Knorozov's proposals was negative, partially, I think, because of the times. However, I also think that because Knorozov tried to decipher the entire writing system in one work, he proposed a large number of unsupportable readings; he gave his detractors a lot of ammunition.

In articles critical of phoneticism, it was often pointed out that Knorozov himself proposed readings that violated his principle of synharmony. These anomalous readings included *mut(i)*, *kuch(i)* and *pach(i)*, which according to the "principle of synharmony" ought to be written *mu-t(u)*, *ku-ch(u)*, and *pa-ch(a)* as they occur in the inscriptions

In one of the early workshops, after I explained these exceptions in a discussion of phoneticism, Brian Stross to my delight pointed out that in



some Mayan languages, the terminal echo vowel rises after an alveolar stop MDSU1, such as the consonants T and CH. In other words, these unusual phonetic combinations match precisely a morphophonetic shift documented in the spoken language, and are, therefore, predictable in the written language. The exception has become proof of the rule. During the last fifteen years, more epigraphers have taken Knorozov's work seriously and accumulated a growing number of decipherments, demonstrating that, at least in principle, Knorozov was right. In his dissertation, John Justeson, for example, compared the Maya writing to similar writing systems elsewhere in the world and found many of the anomalies that had been used to disprove Knorozov's suppositions are to be expected in this kind of writing. Recently, Steve Houston proposed a *to-k'(a)* reading and his argument seems very good. In general, the "principle of synharmony" has provided a good working start on

phonetic decipherment, but it is only a principle, not an inviolate rule.

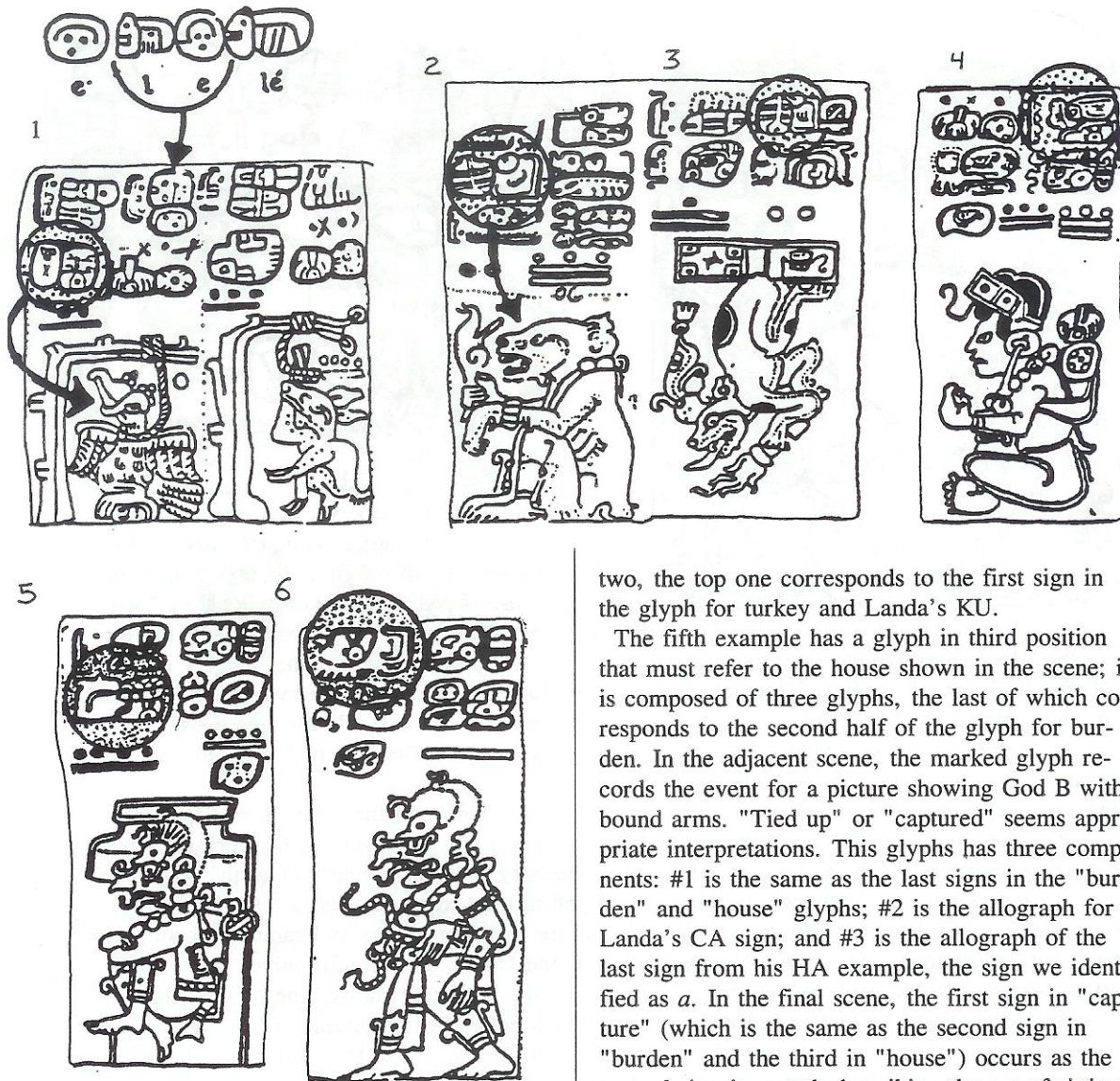
In the later workshops, I have not felt it necessary to present proofs of phoneticism or "synharmony," because abundant evidence of the usefulness of this approach has been published. To me, the existence of phoneticism is no longer a question of debate. However, those of you who are new to the study of glyphs will find the literature overburdened with arguments disproving phoneticism, and it is often difficult to argue with the "experts," especially in a baffling field. The following pages are designed to be read and will not be repeated in the lecture section of the workshop. The particular approach taken to phoneticism results from an interview given in 1980 by Peter Mathews and me to an editor from the LA Times. We were asked the inevitable question about the "Russian and phoneticism." I answered with bombast, and after Peter got my attention, he delivered an elegant argument upon which I cannot improve. I offer that argument here, but in my words, not his. If the argument is unconvincing to you, it is my insufficiency, not his.

The Argument for Phoneticism

Each of the glyphs circled in the illustration above corresponds to the object marked in the scene or to the action shown. In each example, the circled glyph is composed of two or more signs, and one or another of these signs appears in the circled glyph in another of the scenes, but referring to a different object or action. Our problem is to explain why these signs occur in these different glyphs with maximum efficiency and in a way that can be supported from existing evidence in Mayan languages.

In the first example, the glyph in position 2 corresponds to part of Landa's *le* example and refers to the noose binding the turkey. Since we know that the first glyph should be the verb, we can assume that the third or fourth glyph refers to the turkey. A check of the occurrences of these two glyphs elsewhere identifies the fourth as an "attributive" and the third with pictures of turkeys. The glyph for turkey is, therefore, composed of two signs, the first of which corresponds to Landa's *ku* sign.

¹ An alveolar stop is a consonant sound produced by using the ridge behind and above the front teeth.



In the second pair of scenes, the marked glyphs stand for "dog." This glyph is again composed of two signs. Notice that the first of these signs is the same as the second of the "turkey" signs, and the second sign corresponds to Landa's *lu* glyph.

The next example is one of the "burden" scenes. Glyph 1 refers to the object carried, in this case a *yax-k'an* glyph, and glyph 3 to the person who carries the burden. Glyph 2 is the possessed noun that ought to read "her burden." It is composed of three signs, including one of the possessive pronouns prefixed to the other two. Of the remaining

two, the top one corresponds to the first sign in the glyph for turkey and Landa's *KU*.

The fifth example has a glyph in third position that must refer to the house shown in the scene; it is composed of three glyphs, the last of which corresponds to the second half of the glyph for burden. In the adjacent scene, the marked glyph records the event for a picture showing God B with bound arms. "Tied up" or "captured" seems appropriate interpretations. This glyphs has three components: #1 is the same as the last signs in the "burden" and "house" glyphs; #2 is the allograph for Landa's *CA* sign; and #3 is the allograph of the last sign from his *HA* example, the sign we identified as *a*. In the final scene, the first sign in "capture" (which is the same as the second sign in "burden" and the third in "house") occurs as the second sign in a verb describing the act of sitting across from someone.

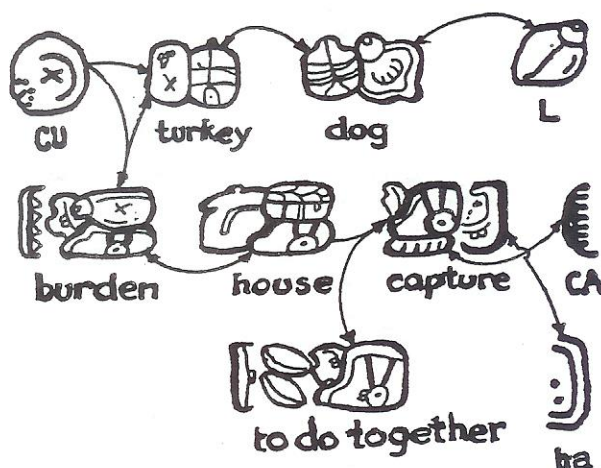
As I discussed in a previous section, any glyph may function as a logograph, semantic determinative, or phonetic sign; each of these possibilities must be tested. If these signs are logographs, then we must find some term for "turkey" that shares its second word with an expression for dog; for example, we must find something like "turkey-dog" as a term for a kind of "dog." But at the same time we must find an expression for "turkey" that shares its first word with an expression for "capture" that shares its second word with an expression for "house" that has the same first word as an "expression for "capture." Furthermore, the sec-



ond part of the "dog" must explain Landa's *lu* and the second and third part of "capture," Landa's CA and A signs (see Landa's alphabet).

If the sharing of signs by these glyphs is explained semantically, then some common element of meaning must be found in Yucatek that would unite all these terms, and although the signs do not have to share the same sound (as do logographs), their meanings must occur in exactly the relationship I have shown above. Furthermore, the logic used to explain the commonality must exist in Yucatek or some other Mayan language; the logic of European languages may not be used. What seems "natural" and logical to us may not and probably does not exist in the same patterns in Mayan languages.

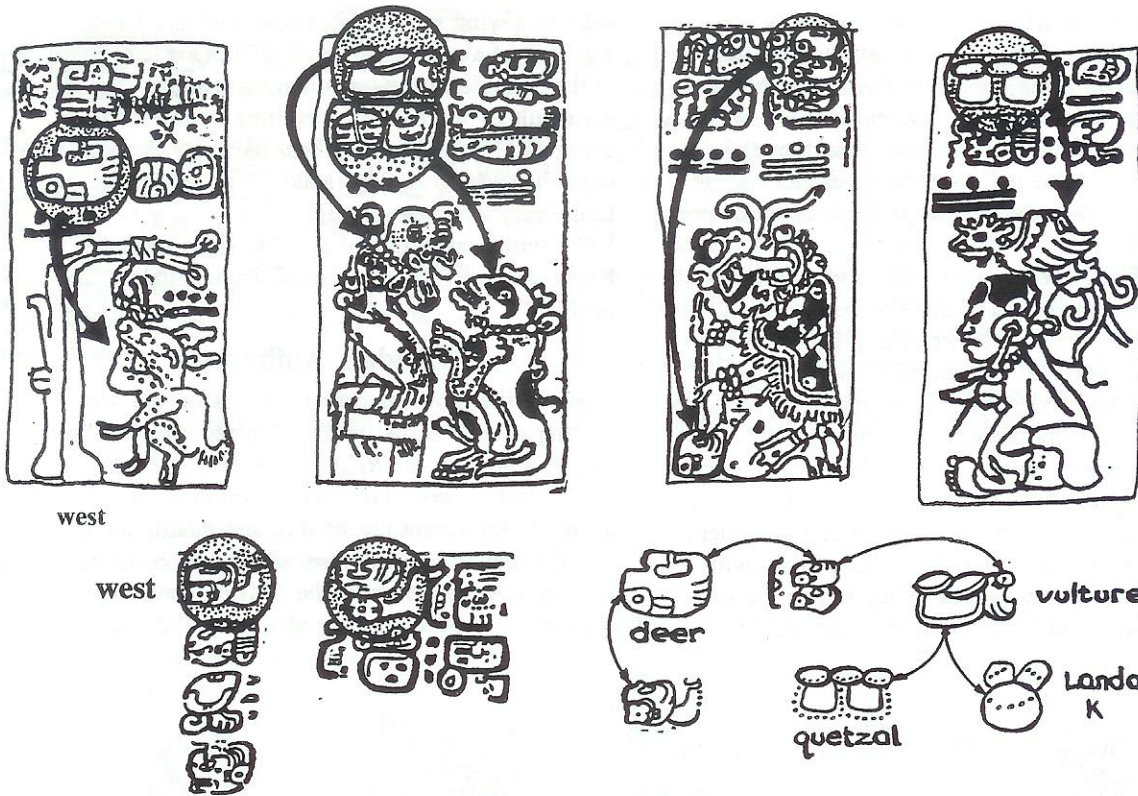
In testing these patterns as logographs or as semantic determinatives, it quickly becomes evident that the set of terms do not share any common semantic properties in Yucatek that would explain the sharing of graphic components. If, on the other hand, the third approach is taken --that the shared signs represent shared sounds without reference to meaning-- the shared graphic components are efficiently and economically explained. All of the terms appear in the Motul and Pio Perez dictionaries and are Yucatekan words for the objects and events previously identified from the scenes.



Kutz is a word for "turkey", and *tzul* is "dog." And notice that the last syllable of "turkey" *ku-tz(u)* corresponds to the first CV component for "dog" *tzul-l(u)* and that the last syllable of "dog" corresponds to Landa's *lu*. The first CV of "turkey" *ku-tz(u)* is the same as the first CV of "burden" *ku-ch(u)*, while the last syllable of "burden" corresponds to the last CV for "his house," *otoch(u)*, and the first CV of "captured" *chu-ka-ah*.

The last reading of the series is perhaps the most elegant and was the result of the work of Floyd Lounsbury. He had suggested that the second glyph in the text as *hax bul*, a term for "dice," and the last four glyphs as Itzamna plus an attributive and God E plus an attributive. [1991 addition: Nikolai Grube showed me in 1987 that Floyd's *hax-bul* reads instead *hol* or "head."] Seeing that the last CV in the marked glyph corresponds to the *chu* sign from the *kuch*, *otoch*, and *chukah* glyphs, he reasoned that there ought to be some verb, ending in *ch* and with an internal vowel of *u* (because of the principle of synharmony) that would make sense in these contexts. This time he was lucky, because he found *nuch*, a verb meaning "to work together." Itzamna and God E are "working together" with their heads together, exactly like they are shown in the scene. He also tested the first sign as *nu* and found confirmation in a number of readings in the Dresden and Madrid codices.

A second set of examples further illustrates the pattern of connections explained by phoneticism.



The marked set of glyphs in the scene above exhibit the following network of substitutions:

(1) A glyph for "deer" is the same as the second sign in a glyph for "vulture" and the first sign in a term for "west."

(2) This same sign when doubled is the second glyph (a possessed noun) in a scene of fire drilling. The verb for "fire-drilling" is the same as *ho* [now known to read *hoch'*] in the *nuch hol* scene above.

(3) In reduplicated form, the first sign in the "vulture" glyph above stands for a crested bird known to represent a quetzal. It is also the allo-graph for Landa's *ku* sign.

As in the previous set of examples, an explanation of this set of correspondences based on logographic or semantic readings does not work. However, when evaluated as phonetic signs, the correspondences make sense.

(1) *Chiih* is a Cholan word for "deer"; the sign originated apparently in a Cholan language and was used by Yukateks as a logograph for deer and as a phonetic *chi* sign. *K'u-ch(i)* is a Yukatek term

for "vulture" (the *chi* sign is acceptable in *k'uch* because CH is an alveolar stop). *Chi-k'in* is the Yukatek term for "west."

(2) *Hoch'* is a term for "drilling fire," but it literally means "the action of rolling flattened hands against each other," the action used both in drilling fire with a stick and in casting dice. *Chich* means "the theme of a sermon" or "prognostication." The fire-drilling scene is used as a rebus for the "act of casting a prognostication."

(3) Reduplicated, the *k'u* sign from *k'u-ch(i)* reads *k'u-k'(u)*, the Yukatek word for quetzal. Both uses of the sign are compatible with its appearance as Landa's *k'u* sign.

The Principle of Substitution

In 1973, when Peter Mathews and I began our careers studying under Floyd Lounsbury, we learned the principle of substitution as the pivotal principle of investigations. First demonstrated by Thompson in 1944 ("The Fish as a Maya Symbol for Counting." *Theoretical Approaches to Problems No.2*. Cambridge: Carnegie Institution of

Washington, Division of Historical Research), this principle uses structural analysis to identify contexts in which different signs substitute into the same position. If the context is the same, then the signs can be taken to be equivalent in some way. We were taught that you can presume how the equivalency works, that is, it may be phonetic or semantic, but you should not presume it is one or the other.

David Stuart, Stephen Houston, and Nikolai Grube have demonstrated that the last constraint is counterproductive. When Peter and I found these substitution patterns, we tended to wait for proof of which kind of substitution we had. They presumed the substitution was phonetic and as a result they have extended enormously the inventory of known syllables. I now accept as working principle that a substitution set is phonetic unless demonstrated otherwise. That is, you can begin with the presumption that you have signs with the same sound value. Synharmony becomes particularly im-

portant within the context of substitution sets because knowing the CV configuration of a known sign within a particular glyph spelling often points to the syllable in the unknown component. The final result is that the Maya writing system ends up being even more phonetic than the early proponents like David Kelley, Mike Coe, and Floyd Lounsbury ever suspected.

The initial inventory of syllabic signs available to Knorosov in his research came from Landa's "alphabet."

Landa's Alphabet

One of the most important sources on the Maya writing system is the information recorded by Diego de Landa in his *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan*. In this work he recorded information from a literate informant on the day and month signs and the cycle of the k'atuns which proved to be the key to reconstructing the Maya calendric and arithmetical systems. Landa also recorded what he



Pop



Uo



Zip



Zotz'



Tzec



Xul



Yaxkin



Mol



Ch'en



Yax



Zac



Ceh



Mac



Kankin



Muan



Pax



Kayab

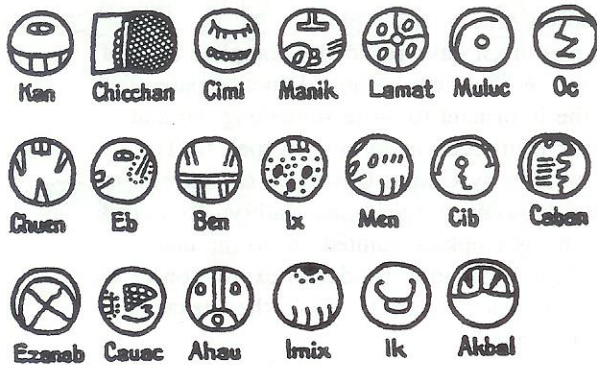


Cumhu



Uayeb (not from Landa)

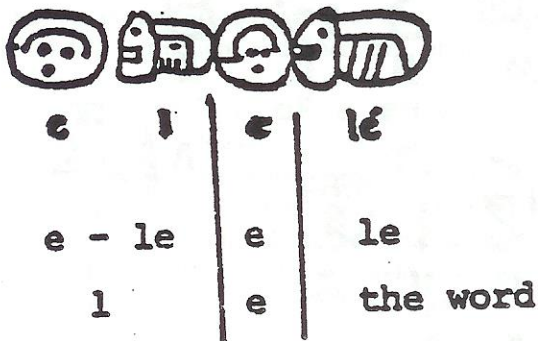
Landa's Month Signs



Landa's Day Signs

thought was an "alphabet," never considering that there might be a different kind of writing system than the alphabetic one he knew. The miscommunication between Landa and his baffled informant resulted in a controversy that has raged ever since the "alphabet" was rediscovered in 1877. Fortunately, Landa described the exact method by which he elicited his "alphabet," and in this description we can identify the misunderstanding that caused the problem. Landa described the elicitation as follows:

Landa told his informant, Gaspar Antonio Chi, that he wanted to know how to spell the word *le*, carefully explaining to the baffled Maya that the word *le* has two letters. The informant either did not understand Landa or gave up trying to explain that he did not write in letters, for he reproduced in Maya syllabic signs exactly the sounds said to him by Landa, who specifically says that he "made them understand that there are two letters."



Of their letters I will give here an A, B, C,⁸⁹¹ since their ponderousness does not allow anything more; for they use one character for all the aspirations of their letters and afterwards another for joining the parts together, and thus they go on doing *ad infinitum*, as can be seen in the following example: *Le* means a noose and to hunt with it; in order to write it with their characters, we having made them understand that there are two letters, they wrote it with three, putting as an aspiration of the *l*, the vowel, *e*, which it has before it; and in this way they are not mistaken, even though they should be employed⁸⁹² in their skilful device, if they



Then they add at the end, the part which is joined. *Ha* means water, and, because the sound of the letter H has a *h*, in front of it, they write it at the beginning with *a* and at the end in this way,



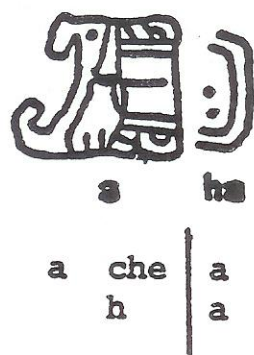
in both ways. I should not place it here nor should I treat it, except to give a full account of the affairs of this people. *Mainkati* means "I do not wish"; they write it in parts in this way:



The letter L is pronounced "a-lay" and the letter E is pronounced "a" in Spanish. Landa told his informant to spell "alay-a *le*" and the informant exactly reproduced these sounds, ignoring or ignorant of the fact that the first three syllables were the sounds of the letters "L-E" in Spanish.

The second example was even more confusing to both men. Landa asked his informant to spell *ha* with two letters, pronounced "ahchay" and "ah" in Spanish. This time Chi spelled the sound of the

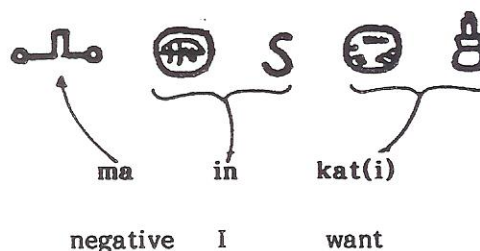
Landa tried to explain the confusion by describing the signs as coming from the letter H which "has a *h*, in front of it, they write it at the beginning with a and at the end in this way." However,

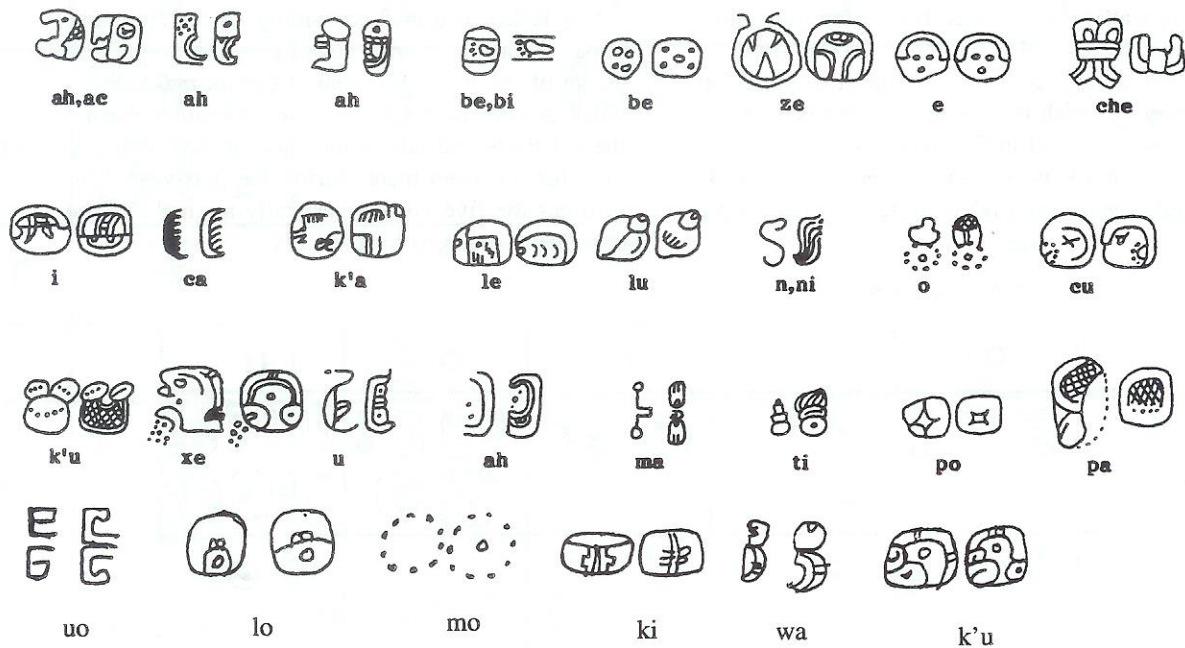


sound *a*, not having found *ha* in the signs written by Gaspar Chi.

Both men must have reached a complete state of confusion by this time because Landa apparently asked the informant to write something without any prior instruction as to how to spell it. The words written by Gaspar Chi made no sense to me until the 1982 Workshop when Kathryn Josserand and Nicholas Hopkins pointed out to me that Gaspar Chi wrote in a wonderful expression of his frustration "I don't want to" or in the vernacular "I don't wanna."

These three examples along with the reproduction of the sounds of the Spanish alphabet, not only provide us with a repertoire of known values, but they provide valuable information about the nature of the writing system. In the *ma in k'at(i)* ex-





Classic equivalents to Landa's "alphabet"

ample, the informant did not feel constrained to force the boundaries of his syllabic signs to match the morphological boundaries of the words. He wrote the first person pronoun *in* with two signs. In the "alphabet," he insisted on retaining a series of contrasts between glottalized and non-glottalized consonants--*ka* and *k'a*, *ku* and *k'u*, *p* and *p'*--when these contrasts made no sense to his Spanish inquisitors. These contrasts were apparently basic to the entire writing system and must be respected in decipherment.

We have not yet identified all the allographs for the signs recorded in the "alphabet," perhaps because the informant was hard pressed to fulfill all of Landa's instructions and, therefore, employed rare or unique examples. However, by combining signs from his examples and the "alphabet" with the signs used as phonetic complements in the drawings of the month signs, we can reconstruct a fairly large set of signs with phonetic values given by Landa's informant, values confirmed in the codices and/or monumental texts. Landa's "alphabet" and his record of the day and month signs are the closest thing to a "Rosetta Stone" that Mayanists are likely to find.

Syllabic Spelling and How it Works

Knorozov first demonstrated the basic manner of spelling in the Maya system. To spell a word with the form CVC, two syllabic signs, almost always of the form CV, are combined as CV-C(V) and the second vowel is not pronounced. Brilliant work by David Stuart, Stephen Houston, and Nikolai Grube in recent years has extended the basic system to more a complicated situation. VCVC words, such as *itz'in* ("younger brother"), are spelled with three signs, *i-tz'i-ni*. When longer words like this, especially those ending in *-n* or *-l*, are combined with other words, as in a phrase like *itz'in winik* ("younger brother person"), the final consonant is dropped to form *itz'i winik*.

David Stuart in his *Ten Phonemes* paper appears to have identified another principle in the system. He proposed that the final T126 that often appears on verbs is there as a final *i* to make sure that the *-i* of the perfective was pronounced. In other words, a spelling using CV-CV was read CVC. To get a reading of CVCV, three signs had to be used to create CV-CV-V with the most frequently used signs being the CV glyphs using the semi-vowel *y*. These are T126 *ya* and T17 *yi*.

A comparable context was discovered long ago in the spelling of words ending in glottal stops. The Maya could elect to ignore the final stop, but when they did wish to register its presence, the reduplicated the vowel in the main root. For example, *te'* ("tree") was spelled *te-e*; *mo'* ("macaw") was spelled *mo-o*; and *le'* ("noose") was spelled *le-e*.

A syllabary is a grid containing all the combinations of consonant with vowel possible in the language of the writing system. I cannot make detailed arguments for each value so I will present the syllabary and add arguments for each new addition that has been made during the past year. The grid has the five vowels vertically aligned and the consonant arranged horizontally.

The Syllabary

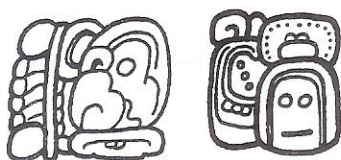
	a	e	i	o	u
b					
ch					
ch'					
h					
k					
k'					
l					
m					

The Syllabary 17

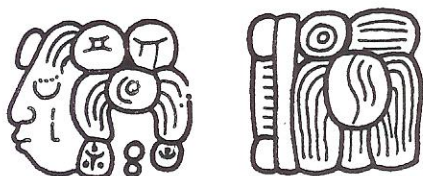
	a	e	i	o	u
n					
p					
s					
t					
tz					
tz'					
w					
x					
y					

The Title *Ah K'u (H)un*, "He of the sacred books"

During the eighties, many epigraphers recognized a title in hieroglyphic inscriptions all over the lowlands, which always is associated with figures of nobles and secondary persons in Maya iconography. This title usually consists of three signs, T12, the God C head T1016, and a *na* (T23) suffix. However, all of the signs can be replaced by equivalent substitutions.



Affix T12 has long been recognized as the syllable *ah*. The *ah* reading was first proposed by Knorozov, who recognized that the affix occurs in free distribution with T229, a sign listed in the Landa alphabet under the letter A. Knorozov also showed that T12 is a common prefix in glyphs that syntactically occupy the position of titles. The reading has never been in doubt. Stephen Houston and David Stuart demonstrated many instances in their "place name" book of toponyms that become titles of origins, when prefixed by the syllable *ah*:



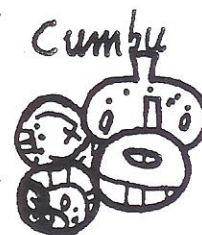
The most common suffix under the "God C title" is T23, a sign which is equally well established through hundreds of substitution patterns. The initial decipherment of the sign as *na* was also made by Knorozov, who found the sign as the last part of the name Itzam Na in the Codices.



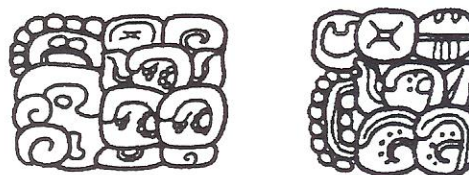
Floyd Lounsbury has provided further evidence for the *na* reading of the sign and all signs in the same substitution pattern by showing that they are

also used for spelling morphemes like *na* "mother" and *nah* "house".

Still unsolved was the question of the reading of the central element. Almost at the same time, and obviously independently, William Ringle, David Stuart and John Carlson observed in 1987 after studying the original photographs of Landa's *Relación* that the canonical glyph for the month Kumk'u illustrated by Landa is preceded by a phonetic spelling written (1) with the sign given by Landa as *ku*, and (2) the God C head.

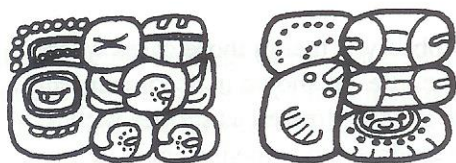


They concluded, therefore, that the God C head has to read *k'u* (Yukatek) or *ch'u* (Ch'ol) "god/divine". The same reading had already been suggested a quarter of a century ago by Thomas Barthel, based on the same spelling of Kumk'u. In a letter circulated among his colleagues, David Stuart listed two instances where the God C head is used in phonetic spellings of *k'utz*, "tobacco," in the Codices to support the phonetic decipherment. Stuart and Ringle also showed in their 1988 papers that the God C head and the so-called "Water Group" affixes are equivalent. In fact, the Water Group plus the God C head constitute the full form of the sign, but it usually was sufficient to write only one element of it.



Thus, a scribe could write the word *k'u* "god" either with the God C head before the nominal phrase he wanted to qualify as such, or with one of the Water Group signs, or with both. One of the most common occurrences of the God C/Water Group complex is before emblem glyphs. Peter Mathews and John Justeson, building on work done by Floyd Lounsbury in 1973, proved beyond doubt that the superfix over emblem glyphs spells the word *ahaw*, "lord". Taken together, the *k'u* "divine" reading of the prefix and the *ahaw* "lord" reading for the superfix made it clear that emblem glyphs are royal titles. They state that their bearer is a divine lord over a territory or geographical feature described by the

main sign of the emblem.



There is evidence that the prefix, when used before emblem glyphs, is the adjective *k'ul* "divine" derived from the noun *k'u*, "god". Most of this evidence comes from relatively late texts, where the *k'u(l)* signs have a variety of complements to stress the final *-l*.

A matter of ongoing debate is the exact reading of the signs. While the interpretation of a logogram for "divine" seems absolutely certain, the question has not been solved as to whether the sign reflects Cholan *ch'u* or Yukatekan *k'u*. The *kumk'u* and *k'utz* spellings argue for *k'u(l)*, however, the signs in the set never substitute for T604, a sign well established as a syllabic *k'u*. Ringle also argued that the "drop-lets" of the Water Group signs could have their linguistic counterpart in the Chontal *ch'ul*, "drops of liquids, lard, etc." It seems that the God C/Water Group signs are primarily used as logographs and that their precise pronunciation may have undergone regional variation.

With the "divine" reading for the main part of the God C title solved, a reading for the title was suggested by William Ringle. He proposed to interpret the title as *ah ch'u na*, "he of the temple" (literally "god's house"). Only a few months later, Stephen Houston and David Stuart wrote a "Nashville Note in Glyphology" about the God C title as a title of subordinates at Classic Maya Courts. They noted that Ringle's reading fails to account for the salient feature of the title, which, without exception, refers to subordinate figures at Maya courts. In their opinion, the title is based on the Yukatek root *k'ul*: "cierto oficial de la republica ... abogado medianero y tercero entre algunos ... veedor, como maestre-sala". In addition, they pointed out that the title never overlaps with the *sahal* title, that it can be carried by close relatives of rulers and by women. When females carry the title, the *ah* male agentive prefix often is not deleted but remains between the female head and the *k'u* sign.



Perhaps the most important observation in their glyph note is that the title falls into a pattern of possessed titles.



At Copan and other sites, the title can be written with a *ya* sign (deciphered in 1986 independently by Victoria Bricker and David Stuart) instead of an *ah* prefix. Here, the *ya* sign combines the prevocalic ergative pronoun *y-* to indicate possession and *a* or *ah* of the God C title. The person carrying the God C title then is "possessed" by a second individual whose nominal phrase usually follows.

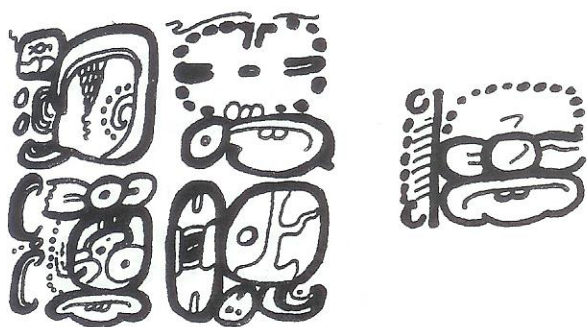
A very clear example of the possessed and the unpossessed forms of the title is written on a bowl from the region of Jaina.



The bowl shows a seated figure with a headdress marking him as a scribe. The text surrounding the individual reads *ah k'u-na, yiban y-ah k'u-na kalom*, "The Ah K'u-na Yiban, the Ah K'u-na of the Kalom". In the second case, the God C title is possessed and links Yiban, the bearer of the title to a supreme person.

When Simon Martin and Nikolai started to cooperate, both noted that the God C title sometimes is written with a knot suffix instead of the final *na* sign.

This knot suffix is the same sign that appears in Glyph F of the Lunar Series.



As Schele presented in the 1991 and 1992 Workbooks, the knot suffix in Glyph F is part of a substitution pattern that includes the two phonetic syllables *hu* and *na*, and sometimes a naturalistic depiction of a codex. The word for Codex and book in all Lowland Languages is *hun*. (Proto-Cholan **hun* "amate, papel, libro"). The knot sign also is found in replacement for the logograph of the number one, also *hun* in all languages related to the glyphs. The *hun* reading for the knot sign is based, therefore, on several independent strings of arguments:



With the knot sign being *hun*, it became clear that the God C title cannot represent a word based on the reading of the final sign as *na* "house". Therefore, Simon and Nikolai also rejected Linda's otherwise

very plausible suggestion to connect the title to the entry *jch'ul-na* "mason" in the old Tzotzil dictionary of Zinacantan.

Nikolai then observed that in those cases where the bearers of the title are shown in accompanying scenes, they are usually dressed as scribes with a typical scribe headdress; in some instances, a brush or an inkpot are stuck into the headband. The *hun* reading for the knot sign could thus be a reference to the most important tool of the sage, a *hun*, or "book". The most likely translation for the title seems to be *ah k'u hun*, "he of the god-books", or "he of the divine books". In fact, sometimes the *na* sign and the knot occur together like in Glyph F:



Only in those cases where the *hun* knot is written, the word *hun* is represented completely. In the other cases, where the *hun* knot is missing, the initial weak *h-* of the word *hun* was dropped, and the expression became written as *ah k'u-un*. Examples for the loss of initial *h-* are well documented for Colonial Yucatek, where *hu'un* "paper, book" becomes *yu'un* when it is possessed, whereby the *y-* marks the possessive pronoun. The title *ah k'u (h)un* may then have become something like a logogram. This, then, can account for the use of the *ah* pronoun even when the title is used with women. The use of the "keeper of the divine books" title with women throws new light on the role of women in Maya society. Apparently, the profession "scribe" was not confined to male courtiers but was also accessible to women. Furthermore, the title has wide distribution and shows the high regard that books were held in. Perhaps Maya scribes were kept in similar esteem as the scribes in Ancient Egypt.

New Information on the Presentation of the Headdress

In their original analysis of the dynastic history of Palenque, Peter Mathews and Linda identified the T713 "flat-hand," consisting of a hand holding a knot (or one of several substitutes) and a second compound reading *tu ba* or *tu u ba*. Over the years, many epigraphers have contributed to our understanding of

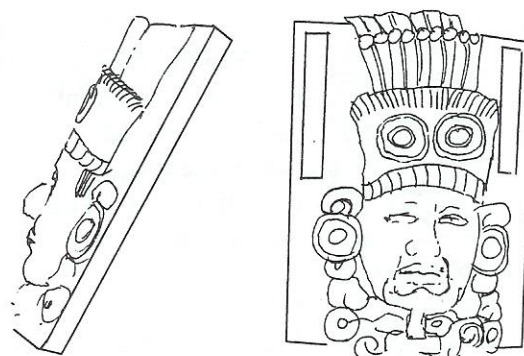


this phrase, expanded our understanding of the event recorded by this expression. In the 1991 and 1992 Workbooks, Linda identified the knot and its several substitutes as *hun*, *sak hun*, and *sak hunal*, and she suggested these were the name for the Jester God on the one hand and for the royal headband on the other. In 1991, Barbara MacLeod finally deciphered the *tu ba* expression by comparing it to similar constructions in the Akalan Chontal document. She proposed that this prepositional phrase records that the headdress event was done "for him," or on behalf of the protagonist.

In *Texas Note 27*, Schele and Vilella showed that the *tu ba* occurred with scenes that show other individuals holding up the headdress in front of the protagonist. They also showed that Stela 31, the only example without the *tu ba*, shows Sian-Kaan-K'awil holding the headdress up himself. Thus, they proposed that the normal act was the presentation of the headdress "for" the acceding king, but that the Tikal king had presented it himself, like a Maya Napoleon. Moreover, they identified the main headdress presented in this ritual as the drummajor headdress and its mosaic equivalent, and associated it with the *tok'-pakal* and the symbolism of war and conquest.

Recent excavations in Group 4 at Palenque have discovered a new text that sheds important light on this accession phrase and its use by high level lords as well as kings. We will not include all of the inscription in deference to the archaeologists, who

will publish a full exegesis of the text in the near future. However, a few selected phrases will give us the information we need. The text occurs on the flanges of a life-sized portrait head of an older person wearing a cylindrical cloth headdress with a



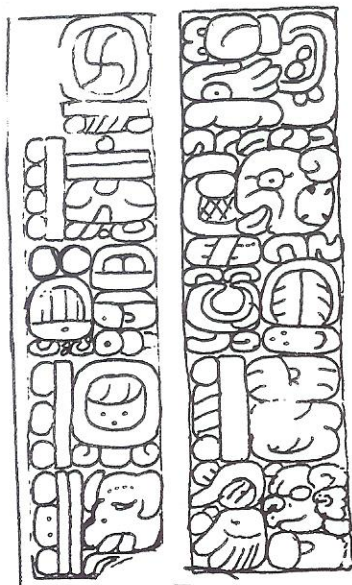
panache of feathers rising from its crown. Although it is different in material, the form is identical to the mosaic headdress. However, like the war headdress carried on the tail of the serpent on the Temple of Quetzalcoatl at Teotihuacan, this little hat has a pair of rings mounted on its upper, front surface.

In January, 1995, Peter and Linda made a field drawing of the text, and just before this conference, we received a copy of Simon Martin's field drawing made earlier in September. Both drawings and analyses of the dates are consistent, although Simon's notes place them one calendar round earlier than we do. The chronology span from 9.11.7.12.5 to 9.13.9.11.7 fall within the reign of Hanab-Pakal and his successor. We placed the *lc* position this late because the earlier dates are accompanied by *u kaji Hanab-Pakal* expressions that mean he was in office when they occurred. The people and events concern a little known time in his reign recorded on several fragments and the west side of House C.

The critical events for our purposes are two passages with the "flathand" accession phrase. One of them begins the text and is associated with the date 9.8.14.17.5 8 Chikchan 13 Sotz'. Then comes the flathand/*hun* and *tu ba* followed by a phrase reading *ta ????* *Sak Hun Bas*. In Yucatek (Cordemex: 39) *ba'as* is "petaca o caja hecha de madera o paja," while in Chorti, Wisdom lists *p'asi* as "wrap up, do up

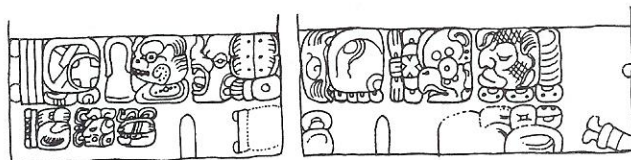
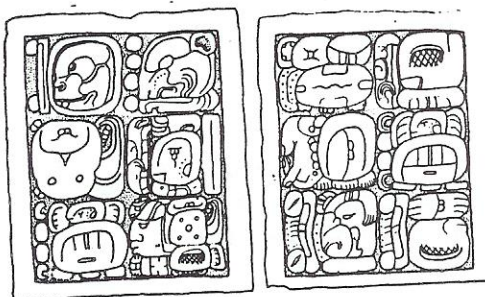


in a bundle, cover completely." As we will see, this is very probably the office description of this underlord. He was "the keeper of the *sak hun* headband bundle." The text continues with *u chij* and then the name of the actor, Ah Sik'ab. Finally we are told this headband presentation happened *u kaji* Hanab-Pakal.



When the inscription goes to the front surface on the left side of the text, it records a dn of 2.11.9, *iwat ut*, and the cr 8 Ix 12 Muwan (9.11.10.5.14.). Moving to the right side of the head, we again have the flathand verb, this time with a *na* suffix to confirm the *hun* reading, *tu ba*, and finally *ta yahaw K'akil*. In other words, this lord

received the headband of the "lord of fire." His name follows as Ah Sul ??? Chak, but in this case, the *u kaji* expression precedes the name Ah Tun Chuwen Ah Sik'ab. We have a clear statement of hierarchy here. The primary lord took his headband "because of" the king, while the "lord of fire" received his "because of" the primary lord. But there is more—Linda and Peter pointed out the presence of people named Ah Sul in other texts of Pakal reign. Nikolai

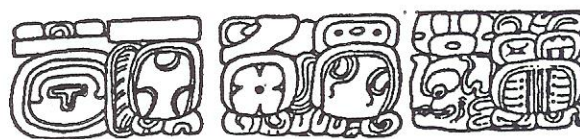


pointed out that Ah Sul still survives among the Cruzob Maya as a title for one of their military leaders.

Just as importantly, this new text connects directly to a later panel also from Group 4—the Tablet of the Slaves. In this text, the protagonist, Chak-Sutz', recorded his own taking of the headdress in conjunction with Akul Anab's accession. Peter and Linda have thought for a long time that the "fire" sign he



had put over the *hun* knot was the method Chak-Sutz' used to distinguish his accession from his



overlord's. The new text confirms this observation, for in the subsequent clause, Chak-Sutz' called



himself the *Yahaw K'ak'*. And later in the text, he recorded an action of Ah Tun Pitzil Chan Ahaw. Wak Ahaw, who is *yah Ku-un*, "the Holy Book Keeper of," Chak-Sutz' Sahal. So, there as in the new texts, the lords of the Group 4 lineage mention their own subordinates, and most interestingly, the titles and functions of these minor lords match those held by their overlords in the royal court.

Finally, the duties of the *yahaw k'ak'* may have involved the keeping of incensarios, but just as likely these are the people who oversaw the *pul* burning rituals mentioned in association with war and victory. Burning rituals are also known from agricultural rituals, but perhaps the most telling record occurs in the Casa Colorado at Chich'en Itza. That inscription lists a series of fire-drilling and burning rituals conducted by the members of the *mutepal* who ruled

Word Order and Grammar in the Writing System

Between 1974 and 1978, when Floyd Lounsbury, David Kelley, Merle Robertson, Peter Mathews, and I participated in a series of mini-conferences in which we worked out the first paraphrased readings of Palenque's inscriptions. Many epigraphers before us, including Seler, Förstemann, Proskouriakoff, Berlin, among others, understood that they had identified glyphs denoting an action or the being doing the action. Nevertheless, attempts at decipherment remained by and large a glyph by glyph endeavor with the most common technique being to find every context in which a glyph occurred in order to determine its meaning. Led by Floyd Lounsbury, our group gradually began to rely on word order and the structure of clauses and whole texts to generate paraphrased translations. Mayan languages, like all languages in the world, must have structure in order to communicate so that if the basic word order of a language can be determined. If we know the basic word order, then the position of a glyph within a clause can be used to determine its probable grammatical function. Thus, while we may not have known what the meaning of a particular glyph was, we knew from the syntax that it was a verb or part of a prepositional phrase or part of the name of the subject. Using the larger matrix of historical data, we could usually figure out who did the action and when it was done, and suggest a general idea of the type of event. Or we might have known what was done and when it was done, but not who did it.

Applying this and other kinds of linguistic information has allowed us to identify couplet structures, deletion and gapping structures, highlighting features, and many other kinds of understandings that have transformed Maya inscriptions into an important body of literature as well as a record of history.

Gradually over the years the paraphrases have been refined as our understanding of grammar, syntax, discourse structure, and phonetics has evolved. There is still a lot to do, but the use of paraphrased translations allowed us to begin reconstructing history and it became the basis of much of the startling advances in phoneticism and dis-

course structure that have been made during the last decade.

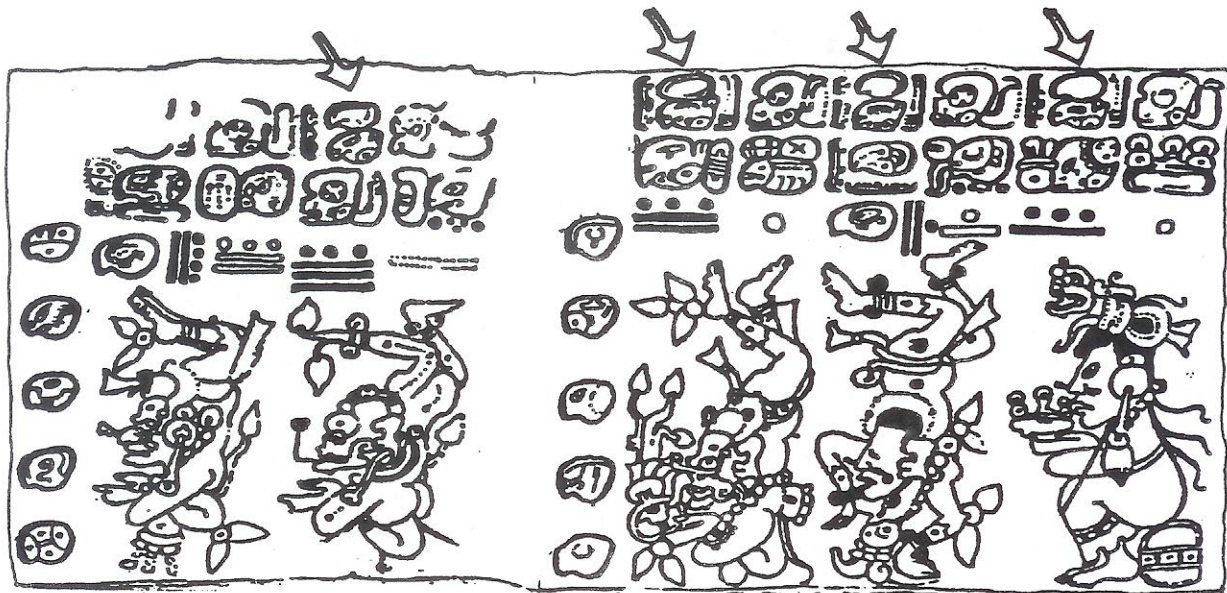
Some of the basic arguments about the identifications of the parts of speech and grammatical features of the writing system are given below.

The Event Glyph (The Verb)

The syntax or word order of the Maya hieroglyphic system is best examined in the context of the Dresden Codex in which texts can be shown to be directly related to the scenes which they accompany. In each of the illustration sets, individuals are shown engaged in the same activity. In the first set, four different personages "fall" head down with leaves growing from their limbs. In the second set, the same character (God B) is shown seated within different locales or on different objects.

We can begin with the assumption that the sets of four glyphs above each scene refer in some way to the pictures. Thus, if we find patterns of samenesses and difference repeated in a systematic way, the repetitions are connected or determined by some quality of the scene. In the first set of scenes, the four personages are different, but their actions are the same; in the texts above each scene, the first two glyphs are the same, and the second pair are different. Following the assumption that the texts change according to some quality of the scene, we can begin with the hypothesis that the first two glyphs refer a quality of sameness, or to the actions of the figures, and the second two glyphs refer to a quality of difference or to the identities or some quality of the individuals. From other well identified "fire-drilling" scenes in the Dresden, however, we can determine that the second glyph in this set is a doubled version of the thing into which a fire-drill is placed. The action must then be recorded by the first glyph.

In the second set, the first and third glyphs are the same in each text while the second and fourth are different. However, in this set, we have determined that the person in all the scenes is the same (God B), so we can expect that either the first or third glyph must name the actor. At the same time, since we have already determined that the first two glyphs of Set 1 must refer to the action,



Dresden 15a

Dresden 16a

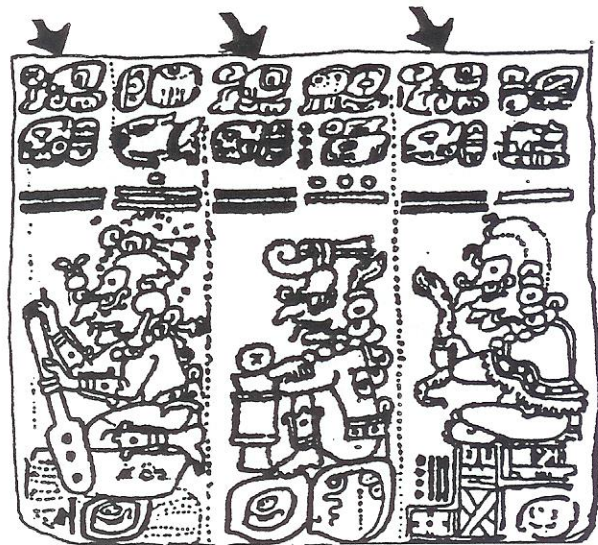
we can begin by testing the assumption that the first glyph in the texts of Set 2 also records the action and that the third names the actor.

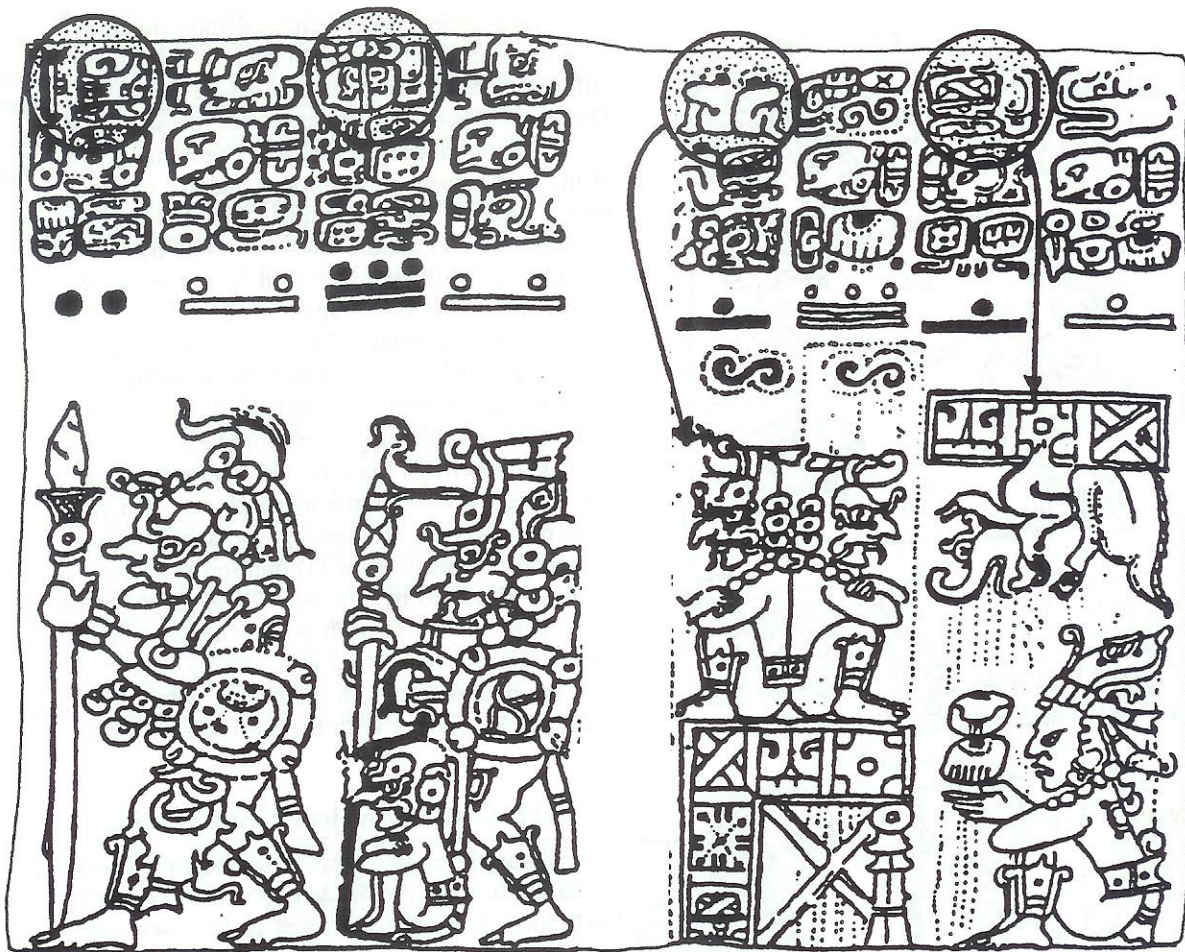
This structural relationship between the patterns of sameness and difference in the sets of scenes discussed above can be tested throughout the Dresden Codex. Whenever the actions of the pictured figures are shown to be the same, the glyphs in the first positions are the same. Conversely, when different activities are shown in individual scenes, the glyphs in position 1 are different. In other words, the initial glyph(s) that are not calendric or directional co-vary with the activities or states shown; Glyph 1 in the texts shown here and in most hieroglyphic texts record the pictured activity and are, therefore, event glyphs or verbs.

Tatiana Proskouriakoff in her seminal work on the "historical hypothesis" found exactly the same word order in the Classic inscriptions; those glyphs immediately following calendric data or at the beginning of clauses record the state or action. It should be noted here that it is somewhat misleading to assert that all non-calendric and non-directional glyphs in initial position are grammatically verbal, since Maya languages can also use other grammatical constructions in this position, but with the reservation that glyphs in initial position may describe the action or state with different

kinds of grammatical constructions, it is possible to say that the Maya hieroglyphic writing is verb initial. Interestingly enough, in spoken Mayan languages, the preferred word order is also verb initial.

The assertion of verb initial word order in the writing system is especially reinforced by a series of scenes in from Dresden 66a-67a in which a structural and pictorial relationship can be demonstrated between the initial glyph and the scene. In the four selected scenes God B is shown engaged



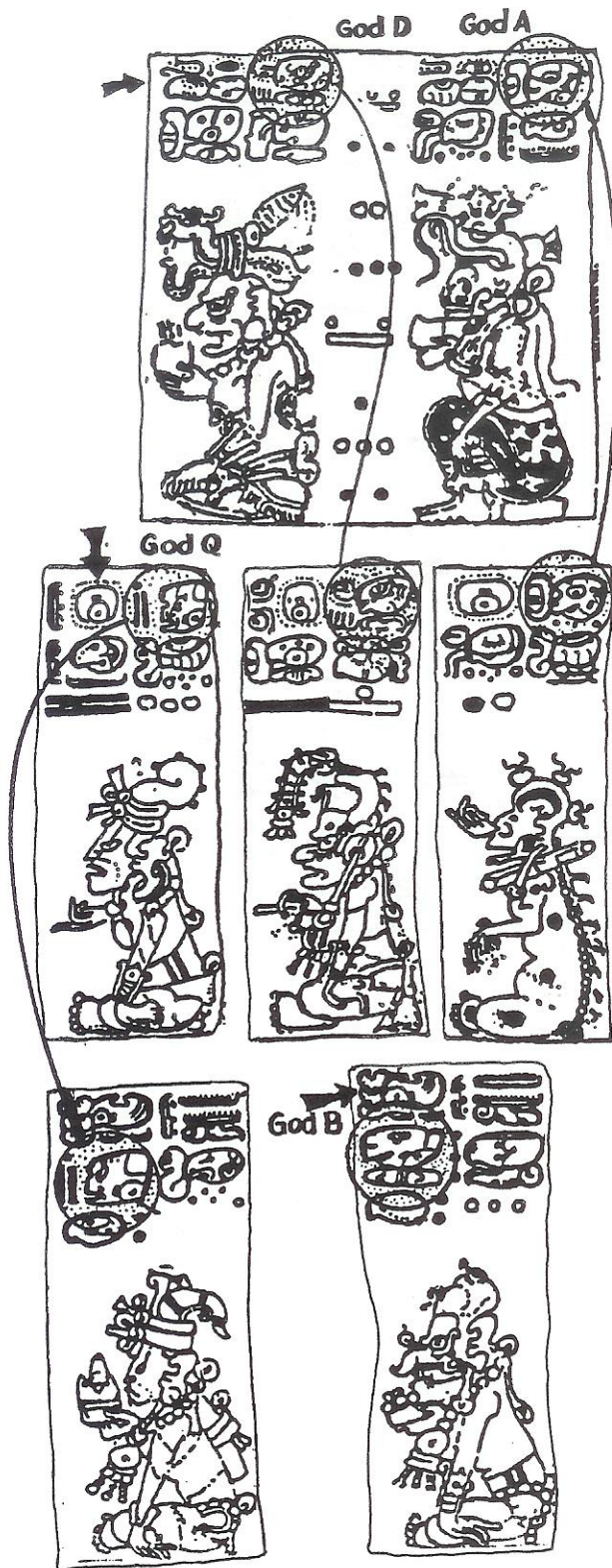


in different activities and in each case the initial glyph is different. Scene 3 is especially pertinent; the scene shows two God B figures seated on a sky band in a back-to-back position. The first glyph in the text is two torsos seated in a back-to-back position; in other words, the event glyph reproduces pictorially the position in which the actor is shown. In scene four, a peccary hangs from a sky-band, and the first glyph is the "sky" glyph. Again there is a direct pictorial relationship between the action, position, or state shown in the scene and the glyph in initial position.

The Subject (Name Glyphs)

In 1904, Schellhas demonstrated that certain glyphs always occur when certain gods appear in scenes in the codices. He asserted that these glyphs name the gods and he gave them letter des-

ignations, such as God A, B, C, etc., still used in the nomenclature today. Zimmerman further refined the designations Schellhas had suggested, splitting several large categories into separate gods with new letter designations. Schellhas had in fact identified the glyphs which named the individual gods, but those names occur in a syntactical structure which begins with verbs. They are not only the names of the gods, but they are also the subject of verbs, and in all cases, these name glyphs follow the event glyph(s). Tatiana Proskouriakoff in her 1960 analysis of the historical contents of the Classic inscriptions found the same word sequence; glyphs naming the protagonist of the monumental text follow those glyphs recording actions or states. Sentence order in the glyphic system is Verb-Subject.



The verb-subject order can be demonstrated in the following illustrations. In each of the bands, different gods are engaged in a single activity. The event glyphs in each series are the same and marked here with black arrows. The name glyphs of the gods appear in position 2 and are marked with a stippled circle. Schellhas's God D appears in the upper and middle band as shown by the connecting line. Zimmerman's God Q appears in the middle and lower band, again connected by a line. God B, the protagonist of the last scene discussed under the verb section, appears in the second scene of the lower band, and God A, the death god, appears in the upper and middle bands. In the vast majority of occurrences, these same figures appear with the same name glyphs, and when these name glyphs are missing, the same figures are named by attributives (Thompson's "augury" glyphs), identified by Zimmerman as glyphs identifying some quality of each god. Schellhas's name glyphs (and the associated attributives) co-vary with the figures shown in the scenes, while the event glyphs co-vary with the activities shown.

Verb-Object-Subject Constructions

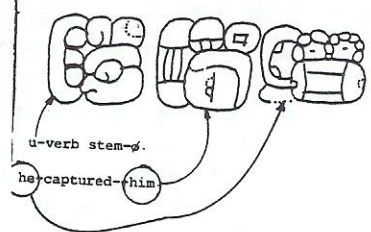
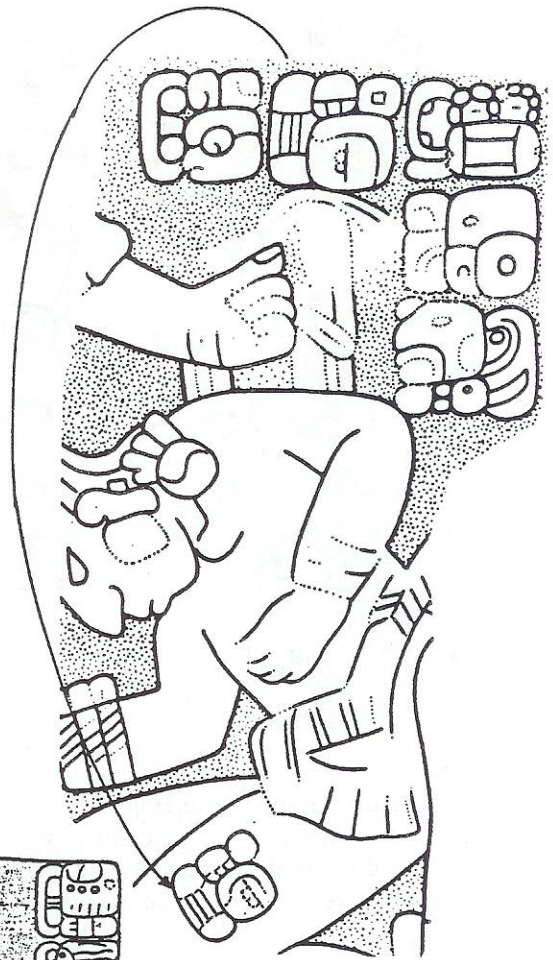
As demonstrated in the previous sections, the preferred word order for the Maya writing system is Verb-Subject, but the examples so far discussed have utilized intransitive verbs. A number of texts in the codices and Classic inscriptions record transitive actions; in other words, the action involves both an actor and an object acted upon. Although verbs that can be identified grammatically as transitive constructions are rare in the inscriptions, the word order associated with constructions that include a verb, patient (object or person acted upon), and agent (actor) have been identified.

In her 1963 analysis of the inscriptions of Yaxchilan, Proskouriakoff offered an analysis of Lintel 8 with identifications of an event glyph for "capture" and the names of the captive (patient) and the captor (agent). The first two glyphs in the text record the date 7 Imix 14 Tz'ek. The reading of the third glyph is *chukah* "was captured", and the fourth glyph, a skull surrounded with jewels, not only follows the verb, but it also appears on the thigh of the personage who is clearly being captured. Bird-Jaguar, the figure at the right who grabs Jeweled-Skull's wrist, is named at E1-E3.

Thus, a scene that clearly shows a transitive action, one person capturing another, is accompanied by a text with a verb, a name indisputably associated with the person captured, and another associated with the person shown dominating the captive.

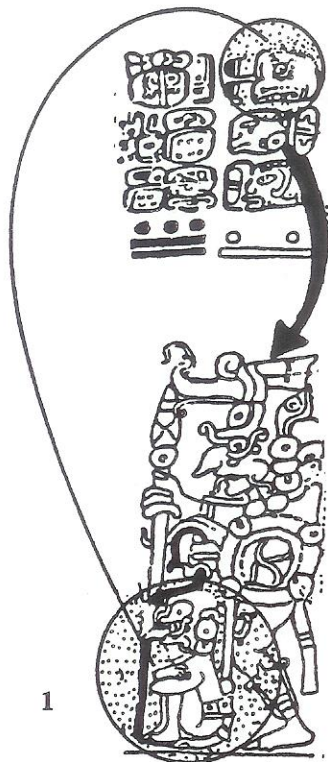
It turns out that "preferred argument structure" in Mayan languages predicts that most clauses will have only one full noun phrase argument for each verb and only one new piece of information in each clause. Without getting overly technical, the Maya rarely used a direct transitive argument, such as "Bird-Jaguar captured Jeweled-Skull." Instead they preferred to use a passive form of the verb, "On 7 Imix 14 Tz'ek, was captured, Jeweled-Skull," with the agent recorded in another clause as "[he was] the captive of Bird-Jaguar."

The text adjacent to the second set of figures on Lintel 8 names the components in what may be a very rare example of a transitive expression in the verb-object-subject order. Again, the standing figure clearly acts upon the kneeling one, who has his name glyph inscribed on his thigh. The text be-



u-verb stem-g.

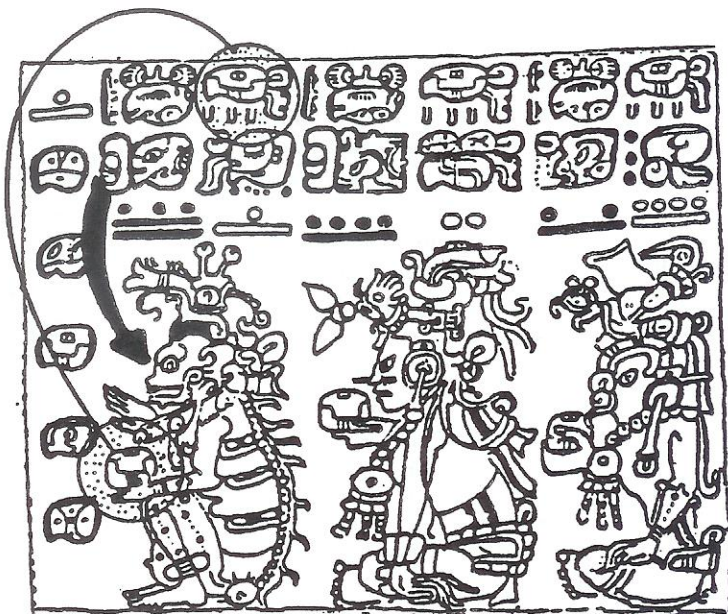
he-captured-him



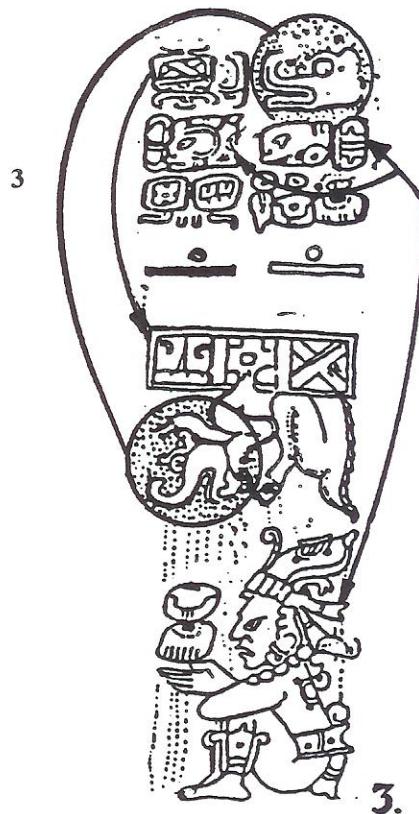
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gins with the glyph identified by Proskouriakoff as "captor of" [Nikolai Grube, Steve Houston, and David Stuart have shown this to be *u chan*, "the guardian of"] and by what Marshall Durbin identified as a transitive verb. *U chan*, "he guards him" is followed by the glyph on the captive's thigh "Kot Ahaw (Eagle Lord), and the name of the standing figure, Kan-Tok'. The scene verifies the VOS order and is one of the rare transitive verbs in the inscriptions. Other verbs which can appear with transitive inflection are "fish-in-hand (conjure)," *tz'ap* (to set something in the ground), and "to scatter." The inflection pattern is a third person pronominal sign prefixed to the verb and often *-wa* as the verbal suffix.

Three examples from the Dresden Codex follow the same VOS word order. In the first scene, God B is shown holding a rope-like object surrounding God K in a situation clearly identifying God B as the agent and God K as the patient. The text above this scene includes *hok'ah*, the verb, in position 1, the patient (God K) in position 2, and the agent (God B) in positions 3 and 4. In the second example, three gods hold a *wah*, "bread" glyph in their hand; the texts above each figure record a



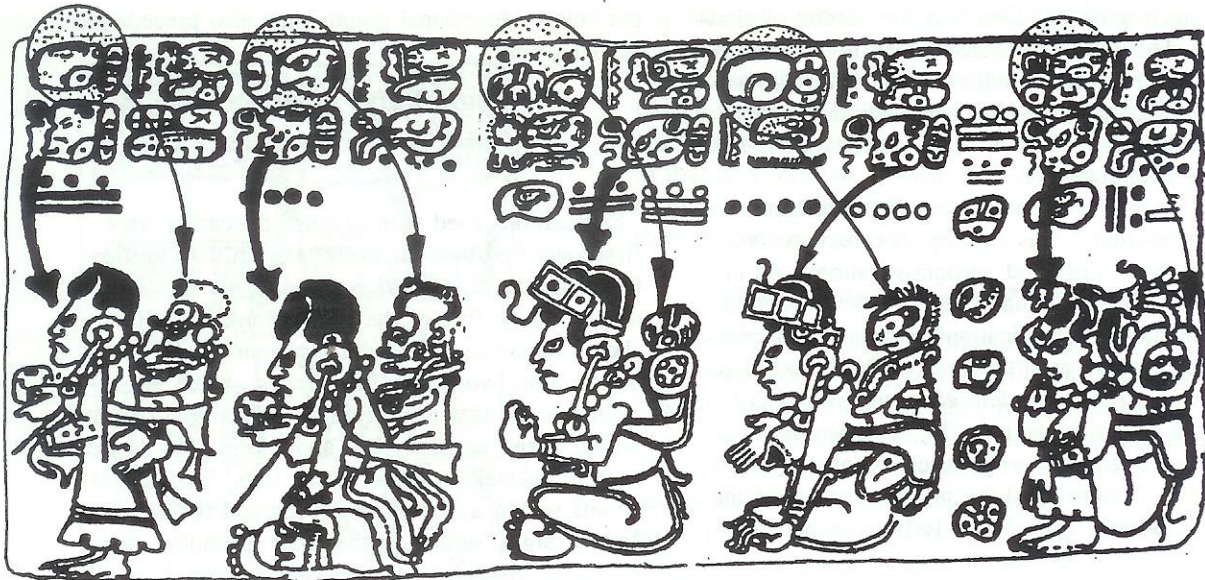
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3.

verb in position 1, the object acted upon (the bread) in position 2, and the actor in position 3.

In the third scene, a square-nosed beastie hangs from a sky-band under which sits the young maize god. The first glyph in the text is the sky glyph in



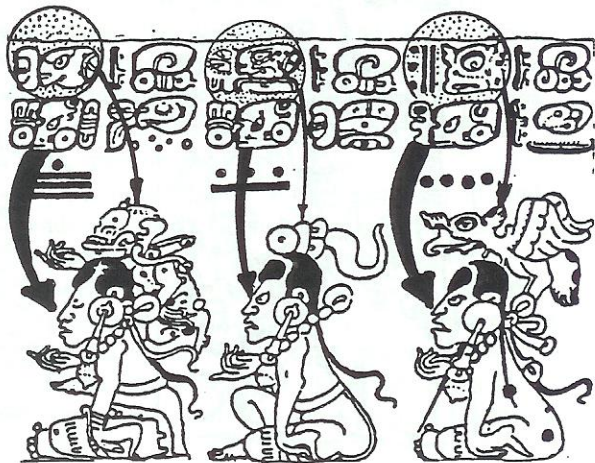
verbalized form; the second is the head of the squared-nosed beastie who hangs from the sky. The glyphs in third and fourth position name the maize god, perhaps as an aspect of God B since both name glyphs appear in the text. The first glyphs of this text may be paraphrased "skyed, the Square-nosed Beastie, God E-B" or "God E-B skyed the Squared-nosed Beastie." Again, the word order is verb-object-subject.

We have not yet answered all the questions about transitive constructions in the inscriptions; for example, there are still debates concerning transitive versus passive constructions. The conclusions about word order in which an agent and patient are clearly present must, therefore, be presented as tentative conclusions, but available evidence clearly points to a verb-object-subject word order. This word order can be used as an analytical tool when identifying the names of actors and patients, and it is a good basis from which to start syntactical analysis of new texts.

Object-Initial Constructions

The favored word order of verb-object-subject is not always used in the codices and inscriptions. For example, in the five scenes shown above, Goddess I carries a different object or individual on her back. As indicated by the circled glyphs, the names of the carried objects (patients) appear in front of the event glyphs, while the name glyphs of Goddess I (agents) appear behind. The word or-

der seems to be that of object-verb-subject. However, in each text, the sign appearing in Landa's "alphabet" for the letter U is prefixed to the event glyph. In Mayan languages, there are two sets of pronouns: (1) Set A which function as the subjects of transitive verbs and the possessors of nouns, and (2) Set B which function as the objects of transitive verbs and the subjects of intransitives. In Yukatek, *u* is the third person pronoun of the first set; it marks the second glyph in these texts—the event glyph—as a possessed noun. These kinds of constructions are called *statives* by linguists. The first three glyphs above Scene 1 would be trans-



lated into English as "God B is the burden of Goddess I." The equivalent construction in Yukatek is "God B, her burden, Goddess I" or "*Chak u kuch Ix Chel*". (In English, the construction requires the stative verb "is" to make sense; this is not necessary in Yukatek).

In the second set of examples, the possessed noun in position 2 was read by Knorozov as *mut*, the word for "bird" and "prognostication." As in the scenes above, the antecedent to the possessed noun, or the "prognostication" is recorded in position 1 and shown atop the head of the Moon Goddess, who is the antecedent of the possessed pronoun and named in position 3. The three texts read "God A [is] the prognostication of the Moon Goddess," "Itzamna [is] the prognostication of the Moon Goddess," and "Moan [is] the prognostication of the Moon Goddess."

Other Clause Initial Glyphs

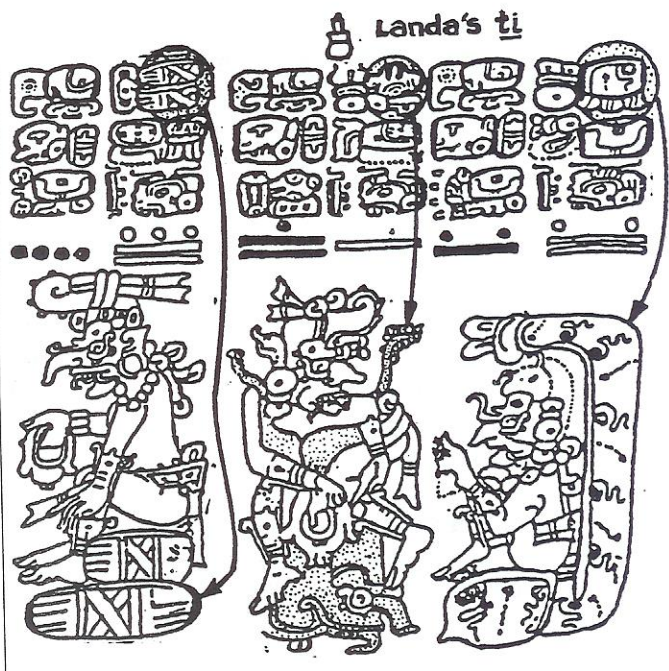
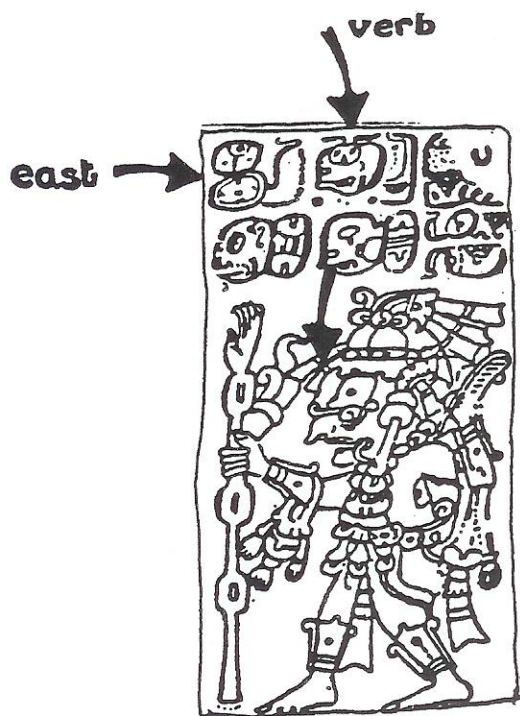
In the Classic inscriptions, most texts begin with calendric data in the form of a Calendar Round, a Long Count, or a Distance Number; the remaining part of a complete clause follows the word order established above. In the codices as in the exam-

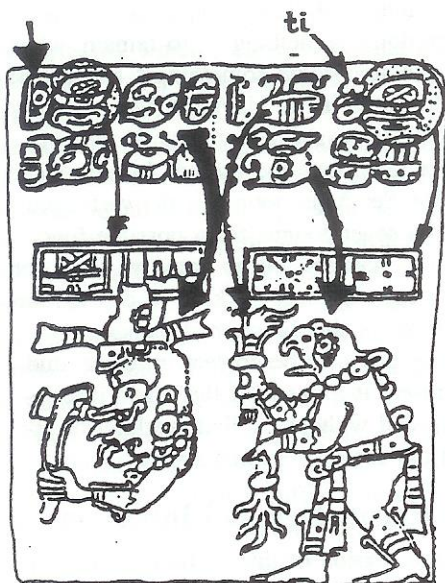
ple below, directional glyphs may also precede the verbal glyph.

Some Parts of Speech

Locative Prepositions

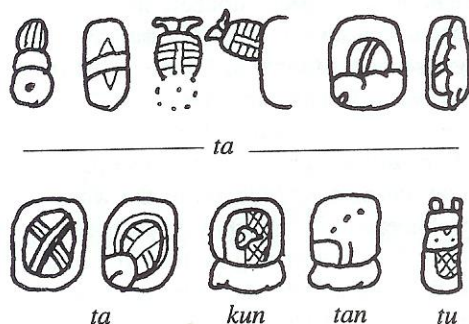
Prepositions used with glyphs of location were first identified by comparing texts in the Dresden Codex to the sign for *ti* in Landa's *ma in k'ati* example. In the first of the illustrations, God B is shown seated in a series of locations. In frame 1, he sits atop two pillow-like shapes, which are repeated in the text in position 2. In frame 2, he sits within a tree, and Glyph 2 above him records *yax-te*, the Yukatek term for "ceiba tree." In frame 3 he sits within a curved object marked by *kab* "earth" signs, and as in the other examples, the glyph for this location occurs in position 2. In all three texts, the glyph in position 1 is the event glyph, apparently recording that the protagonist "is located" somewhere, and as already demonstrated, the glyph in position 2 names the location. Given this kind of phrase, you could expect both in English and Mayan languages to find a preposition (or "locative") placed between the verb and location, as in "he sits in a tree."





In all three texts, a sign stands between the location verb and the glyph recording the object on which or in which God B is shown, exactly where a preposition is expected. Thompson and many others noted that in frame 2 the glyph between the verb and the *yax-te'* glyph corresponds to the sign recorded for *ti* in Landa's *ma in k'ati* example. *Ti* is a general preposition, meaning "in," "on," "from," "to," etc., with wide distribution in the Mayan languages. We can assume that other signs appearing in structurally equivalent positions are also locative prepositions.

For example, the sign prefixing the pillow-like shapes in Frame 1 above also appears prefixed to the "sky" glyph above a picture showing God B hanging from a sky band. The text above the scene reads "in the sky God B," exactly matching the scene. Next to this scene is another, showing a macaw holding burning torches below a sky band.



The text above this scene reads *u k'ak'* "his fire," *ti ka'an* "in the sky," *K'an-??-Mo'* "4-??-Macaw."

The chart above lists those signs which are now known to appear in the codical and inscriptional contexts that identify at least one of their functions as that of a locative prepositions. A great number of these signs appears in contexts that confirm their phonetic value as *ti* or *ta*.

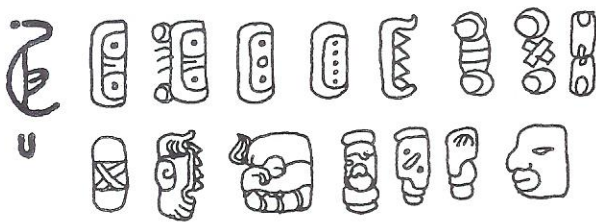
Person Markers or Pronouns

As mentioned previously, Mayan languages have two (more rarely three) sets of pronouns. In English, pronouns are distinguished in use according to whether they are the subjects of verbs, objects of verbs, or possessors of nouns. The pronoun we use as the subject of a sentence remains the same, regardless of the transitivity or intransitivity of the verb. For example, we say "he slept," "he hit him," and "his dream." In Mayan languages, however, pronouns are used in what linguists call an "ergative" pattern in which the choice of pronouns depends on the transitivity of the verb. One set, usually called Set A or the Ergative Set, is used as the subject of transitive verbs and the possessors of nouns. A second set, Set B or the Absolutive Set, is used as the objects of transitive verbs and the subjects of intransitives. In Yucatek and Cholan languages, thought by most epigraphers and linguists to be the languages of the inscriptions, Set A pronouns occur in front of the verb, while Set B pronouns are attached to the end of verb roots. If English used pronouns in the same patterns as these languages, we would say "slept him," "he hithim" and "he dream (his dream)."

Landa's "alphabet" again provided the first identification of a glyph corresponding to one of these pronouns. The allograph of Landa's U occurs in the codices prefixed to nouns in exactly the position expected for a possessive pronoun, and the third-person pronoun of Set A in Yucatek is *u*. Thus, there is a sign which we can say "ought" to be a pronoun because of where it is found, and Landa provides a phonetic value for that sign that is exactly that of the appropriate pronoun in Yucatek, the language of the codices. As with prepositional signs, we can identify a structural position that we know has a possessive pronoun; therefore, any other sign which substitutes for Landa's *u* in exactly the same position ought to be another pronominal sign, and because of the gram-

matical structure of Mayan languages, we know that any pronoun that possesses nouns is also one of the set that functions as the subject of transitive verbs.

The list below summarizes those signs which appear in these and similar contexts. Most of them freely substitute for T1, the allograph of Landa's *u*, so that we assume they all record the third person of Set A, although evidence for their phonetic values is less secure. Since no signs for first and second person pronouns have been identified, even tentatively, we presently assume that Maya texts



are recorded in the third person, a pattern to be expected in the inscriptions that are primarily historical narratives.

David Stuart has recognized a first person pronoun, *in* or *ni*, in direct quotations incorporated into the scenes on pottery. The second person *a* may eventually be found in the same kind of texts.

No pronominal signs of Set B, the subjects of intransitives and objects of transitives, have yet been identified. However, the absence of these signs is expected because the third-person pronoun of this set in all Mayan languages is -0 or silence. Since the spoken languages have silence, we would hardly expect to find a third-person Set B pronoun in the writing system.

Tense-Aspect Markers

Lounsbury (personal communication 1978) has suggested to me that some of the signs above may record conflation of an aspect marker with a Set A pronoun. Aspect is another feature of the Maya languages that English speakers have trouble understanding, since we tend to deal with the tense of a verb more than with its aspect. Tense marks a verb according to a distinction of time--in other words, for the past, present, or future. Aspect is a category of inflection indicating an action or state as inceptive, continuing, terminating, etc. In Eng-

lish, aspect is indicated chiefly by constructions like "to begin doing something," "to remain doing something," "to stop doing something," and by the progressive form, as in "is playing." Maya languages use both tense and aspect, but of the two, aspect is more important and marked by a particle preposed to the Set A pronoun and the verb stem. We have tested several signs for a possible function as "aspect" markers, but to date, we have not identified any sign that has the kind of distribution pattern expected for this function. Lounsbury's suggestion may prove to be correct in future studies, but at present it looks as if the Maya inscriptions are recorded without explicit marking of aspect through the use of preposed signs.

Verb Morphology and Inflection

Since the first version of this section of the workbook was prepared, a great deal of work has been done on the morphology of verbs in the writing system. My book, *Maya Glyphs: The Verbs*, is an attempt to look at the distribution and forms of glyphs that appear in the structural position of verbs. Barbara MacLeod in her Masters' thesis here at UT has followed my work by associating the patterns of distribution I found with grammatical forms in the Yukatekan and Cholan languages. Victoria Bricker's 1986 *A Grammar of Mayan Hieroglyphs* has identified other patterns of verbal morphology in the inscriptions to those of the spoken languages. I refer any participants who are interested in a more detailed look at the verb morphology of the writing system to these works.

In the study of verb morphology, there are a number of important terms which we non-linguists either do not know or misunderstand. These terms, **inflection** and **derivation**, refer to changes that verbs undergo for different kinds of functions. **Inflectional** changes are those that mark a verb for case, gender, tense-aspect, number, mood, voice, etc., but which do not alter its essential meaning or grammatical function. Examples of **inflectional** changes in English are "George's," "flips," "played," and the contrast between "ran" and "run." **Derivational** changes are those that alter the essential meaning or function of the word to something else, such as "unhappy," "informant," "derivative." In the writing system, these inflectional and derivational changes appear to be marked primarily with affixes (smaller subordinate

signs) attached to the main signs and by the use of auxiliary verbs (by which I mean verbs that help form the mood, voice, tenses, aspects, etc., of other verbs).

A large number of these types of affixes and some of the verbs which can function as auxiliaries have been identified, usually based on their association with glyphs occurring in the structural position of verbs. Our major problem is that these affixes appear to record phonetic sounds, that is a syllabic form such as *-ah*, without having fixed semantic value. In other words, T181 *ha* combines with the stem to form the suffix *-ah* and while T24 combines with it to form a *-vl* suffix. As purely phonetic combinations, the signs themselves cannot be taken as morphological suffix. Furthermore, knowing the phonetic values does not mean we know what inflection we have because a particular sound configuration can have more than one function, as with *-vl*, which is a derivational affix for nouns and attributives and as well as an inflectional ending on verbs.

The chart below lists some of those affixes believed to function as either derivational or inflectional affixes on verbs and the phonetic values most epigraphers believe them to have.






One other major pattern of verbal affixation is to prefix *u* or an equivalent sign (see the previous section) to the verb, either with or without the suffixed patterns above.

In the last several years, more linguists have become interested in the study of the writing system. They bring to the field expertise about the Maya languages and their structures that are relatively new to the study of the writing system. I anticipate we will see important breakthroughs in this kind of study during the next few years.

One other piece of information is of interest to the linguistic view of the writing system and its verbs. Until 1980, all the linguists to whom I had talked told me that Mayan languages, including Yucatek and Cholan, were ergative and that we ought to look for the kind of pronoun patterns as-

sociated with these kinds of languages--that is, one set of signs possessing nouns and prefixed to transitive verbs, and a second suffixed to verbs as the subjects of intransitives and objects of transitives. At the 1980 *Palenque Round Table*, Vicky Bricker suggested that we should look for a different pattern based on a new understanding of Yucatekan and Cholan grammar that had been growing among many linguists.

This alternative pattern is called the "split-ergative," because the use of the pronoun sets depends, not only on the transitivity of the verb, but also on its tense-aspect. In this system, Set A pronouns are used as the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs when they are in the "incomplete" (imperfective) aspect. The pronouns split into the ergative pattern when the verb is in the "completive" (perfective). If this pattern existed in English, the sentences "he was hitting him" and "he was sleeping" would employ the same proposed pronouns as subjects, but "he hit him" and "he slept" (the completive forms) would be "he hithim" and "slept him," utilizing the "ergative" pattern in the completive aspect. Bricker's suggestions seem to fit the pattern of pronoun use in the writing system more closely than does a straight "ergative" pattern. This kind of question will become the focus of linguistically oriented studies in the coming years and provide detailed understanding of the grammar and syntax of the writing system that are not part of the results of earlier kinds of approaches.

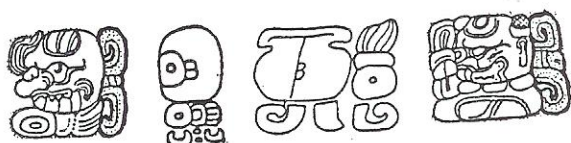
				
<i>u ... wi, u ... wa</i> transitive	<i>ha, ah</i> passive	<i>hiy, ihi</i> intransitive comp.	<i>-lah,</i> positionals	<i>-wan</i> positional

The Temporal Indicators

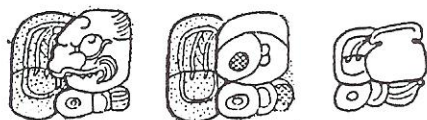
Ut "It happened"

Thompson first noticed two glyphs occurring with Distance Numbers and dates in a pattern that marked relative temporal position of two dates. He called these glyphs the Anterior and Posterior Date Indicators. Furthermore, because he argued that one of the constants in these glyphs, the head of a mythical fish called *xok*, was used as a rebus for the verb "to count," he paraphrased the ADI and PDI as "count forward to" and "count back to." Accepting his identification of the "count/*xok*" rebus as one of the most secure readings in Maya studies, many epigraphers used the paraphrases "count since" and "count until" or "count to and from."

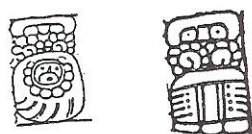
In 1985, David Stuart began to note patterns of substitution that not only produced a different reading of the *xok* glyph, but also explained the function of the ADI and PDI as a grammatical and literary feature documented in both colonial and modern Maya languages. David noted each of the signs that substitute for the *xok* sign in the ADI/PDI also occur as the third person pronoun *u* in other contexts, including *xok* itself and the day sign *muluk*, the other frequently used sign. This inventory of signs includes T1 and its set of substitutions. David speculated correctly that the first



utix "it had come to pass," "he had died"



iwal ut "and then it came to pass"

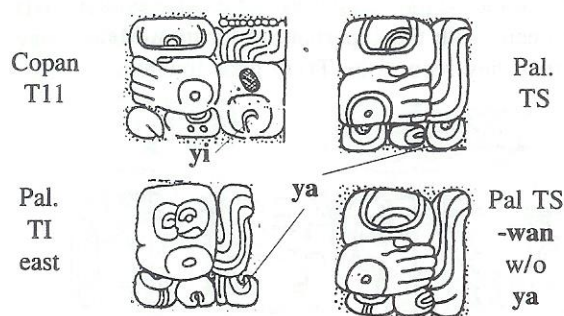


utom "it will come to pass"

sound of the ADI/PDI might be *u* followed by phonetic *ti*, to give the term *ut* or *uti*. Looking for this term and its Yukatek cognate *uchi* in dictionaries and colonial documents proved to be productive for *ut* means "to happen or to come to pass."

Two years earlier, John Justeson and Will Norman had found another key to the puzzle. The ADI always has T126 suffixed to *ut*, while the PDI has T679 prefixed to *ut*. T126 is also called the Anterior Event Indicator because it occurs as the final suffix on the earlier of two linked verbs. T679 occurs before verbs in the same way when they are the later of two events. Justeson and Norman noted that T679 occurs in exactly the same positions filled by the word *iwal* in the *Akalan Chontal* document. *Iwal* is used both as a progressive to mark that the action is on-going at the time indicated by the narration and as the conjunction "and then." Together with *ut*, the PDI reads *iwal ut* "and then it came to pass." [Addition 1991] At present I accept the *iwal* for this prefix because it is spelled out syllabically as *i-yu-wa-la* on Copan Stela J and on a fragmentary panel from Pomona.

Kathryn Josserand and Nicholas Hopkins found another of the keys. In modern Chol, there is a special suffix that always occurs in the final suffix position on a verbal stem that marks the action as in the *plus cuam perfective*. This suffix, *ix*, is used with verbs, adverbs, and time periods, to mark that they are completed with the sense of being ended before another action begins. [Addition 1991] Kathryn and Nicholas still accept the reading of *ix* for T126. Over the last two years, I have found myself coming to accept the explanation David Stuart presented in his *Ten Phonemes* paper. There he suggested that T126, which most epigraphers accept as *ya*, functions to reinforce the final *i* from the *ti* glyph. In other words, the two syllabic signs, *u* and *ti* by themselves give only *ut*; to get the pronunciation *uti*, the final *ya* is required. I became convinced he was correct when I saw, as he had done, that a T24:713 "appear" verb on the north panel of the east door of Copan Temple 11 has T17 *yi* substituting for T126 *ya*. In that context, *ix* is not a possible reading. However, I do agree with Kathryn and Nicholas in that both T126 and T17 function as *plus-cuam*-



perfectives because in the Copan example and many others, these signs are regularly added to the suffix *-wan*, the perfective for positional verb. This final *i* would not be required for *-wan* unless additional inflectional information were being added.

The last segment in the pattern was found simultaneously at the Cleveland State University Symposium on Maya Writing and by Ben Leaf in October of 1988. This glyph was first noted by Berthold Riese at Copan as a sign particularly associated with quarter-k'atun dates. In 1986, David Stuart suggested to me that the glyph had to represent a future tense of some kind since it always preceded the record of the k'atun in which a particular event occurred, but at the time of the narration, the event was not yet completed. The glyph includes one of the many signs for *u*, T44 *to*, and either T502 *ma* or T140 *-vm* to give *u.to:m(a)*. I presented this information to the participants at Cleveland, concluding that we had been able to find no satisfactory reading for the root *tom*. A surprised expression of recognition flashed across Terry Kaufman's face as he recognized the verbal inflection. He explained that *-om* is the future participial in Chol and that the reading is *ut-om*, "it will happen." In a truly extraordinary coincidence, Ben Leaf had come to visit me in Copan the day before I left for the Cleveland Workshop. When he saw an example of the *utom* glyph on a fragment, I gave him the same information I presented in the Workshop. Independently and simultaneously, Ben identified the same glyph as the future inflection of *ut* and left me a note explaining his idea. The reading must be cited to both Terry Kaufman and Ben Leaf. The PDI then reads *iwal ut* "and then it came to pass," while T679 with any other verb reads *iwal* meaning either "and

then" or that the action is on-going at the time indicated. The ADI reads *ut-iy* [or *ut-ix*], "it had come to pass" and, with a verb the paraphrase, it is best paraphrased with the English auxiliary verb "had" as in "he had been born," "he had acceded." This is the sense of "since" with the action, especially when a Distance Number linked the marked verb with a later event or date. When the PDI is followed by a date, that date is the subject of the verb *ut* giving a paraphrase like "and then 4 Ahaw 8 Kumk'u came to pass." Finally, *utom*, "it will come to pass" is used when a current historical event is linked to a future one, especially the end of k'atun or bak'tun. [Addition 1992:] Last year David Stuart and Stephen Houston circulated evidence that the "chuwen" count glyph reads phonetically as *uht*, so that we now know this glyph is simply a different way of spelling the *ut* verb.

Known Glyphs and Expressions

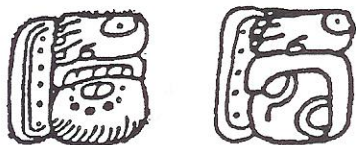
I am often asked to estimate how much of the writing system is now deciphered. I must always answer that it depends on what you mean by deciphered. Some glyphs can be translated exactly; we know the original word or its syllabic value. For other glyphs, we have the meaning (for example, we have evidence that a glyph means "to hold or grasp"), but we do not yet know the Maya words. There are other glyphs for which we know the general meaning, but we haven't found the original word; for example, we may know it involves war, marriage, or perhaps that the event always occurs before age 13, but we cannot associate the glyph with a precise action. For others, we can only recover their syntactical function; for example, we may know a glyph occurs in the position of a verb, but we have no other information. To me the most frustrating state is to have a glyph with known phonetic signs, so that we can pronounce the sign, but we cannot find the word in any of the Mayan languages. If a glyph is unique or occurs in only a few texts, we have little chance of translating it. The following chart illustrates a selection of the most important glyphs for which there are decipherments of one kind or another. I have included some of the major events, titles, and relationship glyphs that are basic to the recovery of historical information. Please remember that these identifications result from the re-

search and insights of many different scholars, and that any list of this kind can only represent what is known up to a particular point in time.

Royal Life

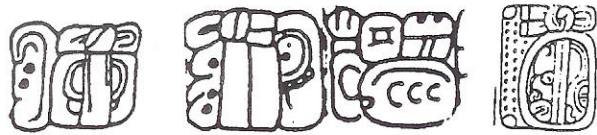


Proskouriakoff identified this upended frog as an "initial" event, but most epigraphers now accept it as "birth." Its phonetic value is in dispute, but in the Madrid Codex, this animal and snakes are shown belching up a series of supernaturals. The verb in the associated texts is phonetic *sih*, Yukatek for "birth." The "belching up" and perhaps the upended position of the head seem to refer metaphorically to birth. I suspect that the glyph is a logograph for "birth" and was read as the locally appropriate word for "birth." [Addition 1991] Last year, Nikolai Grube discovered that the "birth" frog is phonetic *hu* in good percentage of its occurrences. He further identified the central example as *hu-li*, forming *hul*, "to arrive." With T126, it is *huliy*, "he had arrived." Most of the other occurrences of the "birth verb" have a *hi* as in the right example, or *ha* plus *ya* as on the left. 1994: Phonetic complementation and substitutions identified by David Stuart have shown that the "birth frog" was logographic *sih*, "to be born."

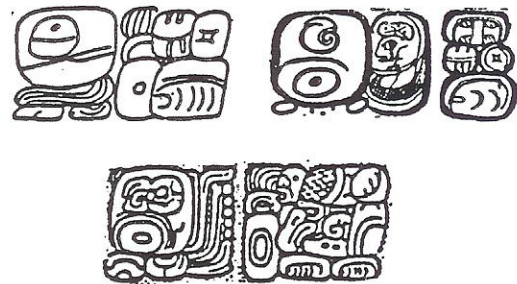


Floyd Lounsbury recognized this glyph as a substitution for the "birth" glyph above and associated it with a metaphor for "birth" still existing in Chol. It is composed of a pronominal sign, a hand, and "earth," written in either its logographic or phonetic form. In Chol, the expression for birth is *il pañamil* "to see the world" or *u káb pañamil*

"to touch the earth." 1995: All of the examples of this verb occur with the supernatural location Matawil, so that they record the Triad gods touching Matawil.



1989: Proskouriakoff identified T684 as "inauguration," an interpretation now widely accepted. Recently, the identification of *ho* and *k'u* complements associated with this glyph confirm its value as *hok'*, a valued first proposed by Wolfgang Cordan in 1963.



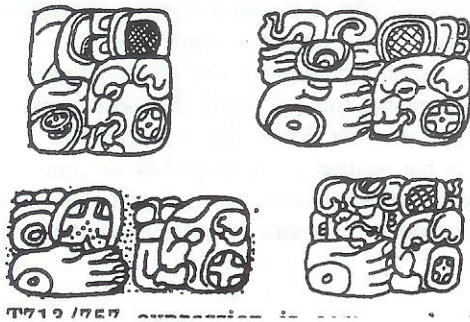
Berlin identified T644 as an "expression" for accession. We have known for some time that it means "to be placed or seated" because of its occurrence with the 20th day of the month. Bill Ringle has presented convincing evidence of its reading as *chum*, a reading accepted by Mathews because of the occurrence of a *mu* sign as infix. It often occurs with the *-wan* and *-lah* suffixes, known to mark positional verbs.

T700 represents the profile view of a lower body

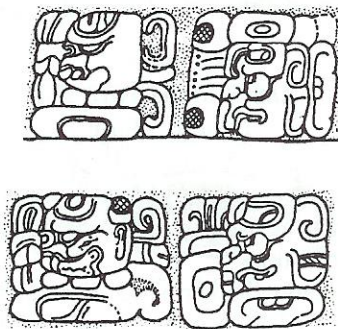


in the act of "sitting down." It seems to record the act of "seating oneself." We do not know, however, if it also reads *chum*, but with the *ya-ni*, a suffix pattern that appears to go with verbs de-

rived from nouns. The verb may simply be ahaw-yan, "ahawed."

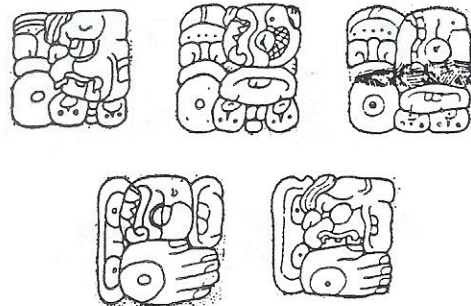


The T713/757 expression is composed of the rear view of a hand (*pat* "back" and "to take of-
fice"), and the title or office taken in this rite is re-
corded above the hand. In the first two examples,
this title glyph is the knot from the T684 bundle;
in the second, it is *sak winik* "resplendent or pure
man"; and in the fourth, it is the Jester God, prob-
ably read here as *ahaw*. [1989 Addition:] Bar-
bara MacLeod has recently suggested that all of
the objects in the hand are associated with the
royal headband. Following Bricker's suggestion
that T89.T757 reads *tu ba*, the reflexive, she sug-
gests that this accession reads "he crowned him-
self." I think it is a very good suggestion. [1991
Addition:] Last summer, Peter Mathews, Floyd
Lounsbury, and I confirmed the idea of this read-
ing on the Palace Tablet (see *Texas Note 4*). Look-



ing at the clauses repeating the death of Pakal and
Chan-Bahlam, we realized that they read *hamaliy*
and each was followed by a compound with *sak*
and the Jester God. I had always taken the Jester
God to stand for the king, but it occurred to us
that here it should be referring to the headband.

We looked up *ham* in the Chol dictionary and
found it means "to open." Thus, to accede is to
"tie on" the headband. To die is "to open" it.



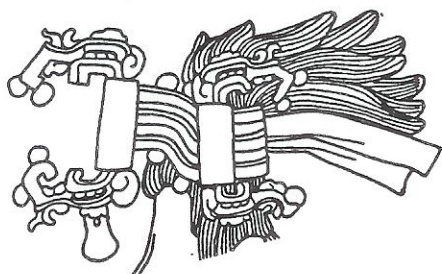
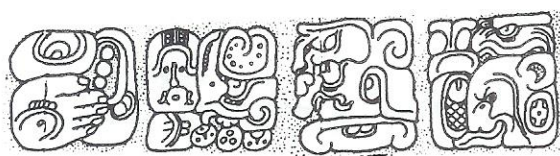
[1991 Addition:] Nikolai Grube's reading of the
T740 birth frog as *hu* now gives us a syllabic
spelling for this headband. On the Temple of In-
scriptions middle and west panels, the Jester God
is replaced in two contexts by its syllabic spelling.
In both contexts, it is replaced by *hu-na*, while in
the second (middle and right), it has a *la* attached
to both the iconic and syllabic forms of the *hun*.
The headband was thus *sak hun* or *sak hunal*. *Hun*
means "one, paper, and book" in both Yukatek
and proto-Cholan and in Yukatek, it means "a gen-
eral or universal thing" and "to care for some-
thing." Since the Jester God has the same *na* suf-
fix when its records the office of ahaw on the east
panel of the TI, I believe his name was simply
Hun, perhaps "The One." The headband was *sak*
hun(al), "the white paper" or the "resplendant
One."



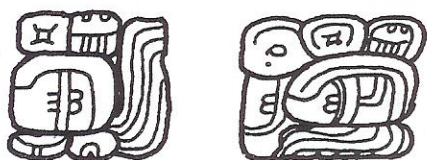
This phrase seems to be an elaborated version of
the one above. It occurs with Shield-Jaguar of Yax-
chilan and Two-Legged-Sky of Quirigua. The sign
above the T713 hand is a "mirror," an expression
referring to the "taking of office." The second
glyph "fish-in-hand" refers to blood-letting rites
that were conducted for accession. [1991 Addi-
tion:] Nikolai Grube circulated a letter in Novem-

ber 1990 in which he identified the glyphs between the verb and the *tu ba* as the name of the headband tied on by each king.

1991: A similar phrase is recorded on the Palace



Tablet for Kan-Hok'-Xul of Palenque. Here, however, the glyphs recording the name of the headband are different. Werner Nahm and Nikolai Grube have read the *ahaw-ki* as *nik*, the word for "flower." This headband should have flowers associated with it, and in the scene, the two flanking figures wear waterlily headdress, while Kan-Hok'-Xul wears the headband shown above.



The T518 glyph is a fully expanded version of *ahaw* which is derived as a verb by the *-ni* suffix. This form is used for accession at Naranjo and Palenque.

The Affix Cluster and Titles

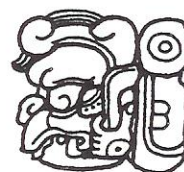
Many of the accession phrases discussed previously are followed by prepositional phrases that record the office assumed in the recorded event. This prepositional phrase includes one of several locatives, a title, and Landa's *le* sign. Peter Mathews (personal communication, 1990) believes this *le* suffix records the *-lel* suffix that derives abstract nouns from other nouns. He suspects that the final *-l* is not written as in several other similar phonetic contexts. In other words, *ahaw* is "lord"; *ahawle(l)* is "lordship." These same glyphs



various forms of *ahaw*



T1030o *hun*
does not use *le*



"chak-te"¹ iconic and phonetic forms



sahal,
subordinate



Ahaw in the T618 and
T168-518 forms



can also occur in anniversary expressions, while the plain forms occur as titles in name phrases and in "numbered k'atun" titles.

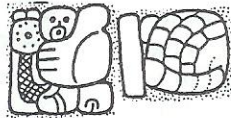
The T670 hand holding either T533 *ahaw* or the forehead mirror of God K records a ritual that occurred on many different occasions. The hand ap-

¹ David Stuart first identified this glyph as a substitution for the "batab" title and he identified the head variant as the god Chac. I suspect the title may have read *chac-te*.

2. Peter Mathews and John Justeson first identified this title for secondary lords and territorial governors, while David Stuart contributed a detailed study of its distribution. In the past, we have read the title *cahal*, but it has become increasingly evident from David Stuart's and Nikolai Grube's work that its actual value was *sahal*. Nikolai has suggested it is derived from the root *sah*, "to fear," and means "one who has fear." Barbara MacLeod believes it may relate to the root *su*, which means "to make a vow" and means "one who has made allegiance."



Pal. T14



PN, Lintel 3

appears to record "grasp" or "hold," and the God K mirror refers to the God K scepter. We now have evidence that this glyph refers to the rite of displaying God K, an act that occurred at accession and other major events. The glyph does not, therefore, refer specifically to accession, but to a rite that could occur on that occasion. 1989: The type of object or scepter held is often specified in the glyph following the T670 hand. 1991: I have been particularly interested in this verb since the earliest workshops. In 1986, I presented the full pattern of its distribution to a conference at UC Santa Barbara, where I showed an example from Piedras Negras that carries a phonetic complement of *ch'a*. I suggested then that is *ch'a*, a verb for "to take" in Yukatek. David Stuart and Nikolai Grube have both pointed out examples with T140 *ma* as a suffix and suggested it is *ch'am*, "to receive" in

Anniversary Events



homi *u hun k'atun* *ta ahawle*
was completed the 1st katun in reign

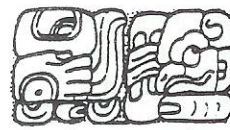


homi *u hun k'atun* *ti chak-te-le*
was the 1st katun in reign
completed

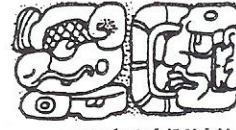


homi *u ho tun ta* *ti ahawle*
was completed the 5th tun in reign

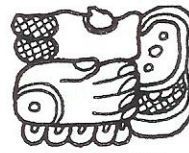
Chol. The verb is then "it was received" with the object recorded in the hand or just after it.



took office as *yok te*
"heir-designation"



yokte'k' t'it'k'in
"heir-designation"

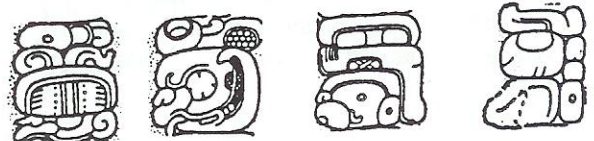


"deer-hoof"
event of
children
and youths

Other Rituals

Building and Monument Dedication

These events are found are many sites in texts recording the dedication of stelae, altars, and buildings. David Stuart has suggested that the verb in the first example read *och butz'*, "entered smoke," as a reference to the censuring of houses in dedication rites. 1995: Stuart has proposed that the plate verb read *el*, "to burn," and is the burning of incensarios in the temple.



1



2



3



4



5

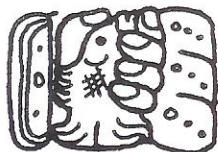


Nikolai Grube read the verb in the last example as *tz'ap*, "to set into the ground." It is used specifically with stelae.

These dedication phrases usually use a formula that includes the verb, the proper name of the object, *u k'aba* ("is its name"), the kind of object named, and the owner.

Events in the Bloodletting Rite

1991: Nikolai Grube has found a syllabary spelling of "fish-in-hand" on Yaxchilan Stela 25. His discovery confirms that the phonetic reading is *tzak*, a term that means "to take hold of" and "to conjure demons." As Nikolai, pointed out, the Spanish would have classified Maya visions and way (nawals) as demons. The "lancet" appears to refer directly to the act of taking blood. We do not know its reading, but at Yaxchilan, it occurs



with *ch'a* as a prefixed phonetic complement. At Copan, Nikolai and I were able to confirm one example on Altar A' where the little sign attached to the blade is a wing, and thus either *ch'a* or *k'i*. Perhaps the word ends in a *ch'* with an internal vowel of *a*. 1992: During the summer 1991, we found phonetic complements showing T712 was *ch'am*, "to harvest."

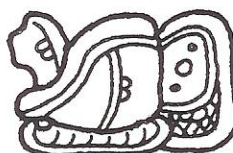
David Stuart believed he had found phonetic substitutions for this "scattering" event reading *mal* "to sprinkle liquid." He has also shown a network of interlocking iconography and glyphic contexts that identify this event as one of "scattering blood." It is a blood-letting rite especially associated with the celebration of period-endings, but he has shown from the text on Stela 25 at Dos Pilas that as a consequence of this rite, "the Paddlers were born by the act or the ruler." In other words, the act of blood-letting gives birth to the gods, perhaps by calling them into physical manifestation during the rite. In the Terminal Classic, the "manifesting" is shown in the upper register as dotted scrolls enwrapping small god figures, usu-

ally the god shown as paddlers on the bones from Burial 116 at Tikal. 1991: David himself has corrected his earlier reading of *mal* by distinguishing the hand with the drops from another without. The latter, which he used in the *mal* reading, he demonstrated to be *ye*. Bruce Love showed that *ch'ah*, "drop," frequently follows the "scattering" hand. I still believe the drops most often represent blood, but now we know the sign is *ch'ul*. As a term for "holiness," it can refer to any substance, especially liquids, that belong to that category. 1995: Several years ago, Nikolai used the phonetic spelling of this very to read it as *chok*, "to sprinkle."



Events associated with War and Venus-conquest War

1991: Nikolai Grube, David Stuart, and Stephen Houston independently associated the "captor"



chucuh

"to capture"



u chan

"captor of"

glyph with the Yucatek term *chan*, "to guard." In the past this title has been taken to refer only to the relationship between captive and captor, but this year Houston and Stuart interpreted a newly discovered Dos Pilas panel to record this relationship between a royal heir and his guardian from another kingdom. "The guardian of" now seems the best paraphrase.



"star-over-earth"



"star-over-Seibal"

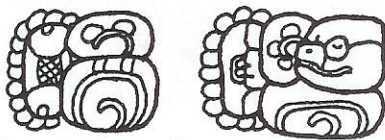


"Star"

The verbs on the end of the previous page is set of events has been associated with war, stimulated by certain stations of Venus, especially the first appearance of Evening Star and the point of eastern elongation.



Steve Houston has identified the second of the two glyphs above as a phonetic version of the logographic "flint-shield" glyph. **1991:** During the 1990 workshop, it became evident to many of us that the flint-shield was more than just an object. We believe it was the symbol of war, derived from the atlatl-shield icon borrowed from Teotihuacan at the time of the first great conquest war between Tikal and Waxaktun.



1991: We have known since 1977 that this verb is associated with heir-designation rites at Palenque and with captives and war events at Naranjo and Tikal. In 1990, Nikolai Grube demonstrated its phonetic reading to be *hub-i*, "it was downed" in the sense of to put or bring something down. In the war context, either a captive or the tok'-pakal of a captive were downed, and in the heir-designation, the young heir was brought down from the pyramid.



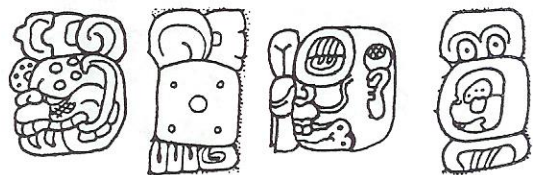
David Stuart has identified these titles as recording the number of captives taken, probably during the lifetime of the person named.

Death and Burial



"wing-shell" death

1991: Proskouriakoff first identified this as a glyph for death, perhaps as a reference to the loss or flight of the spirit. David Stuart first connected the phonetic spelling of the wing glyph, *ch'ay*, with and entry in Colonial Tzeltal of *ch'ay ik'*, "extinguished breath." We still don't now how to read the second glyph, but it must record the element that is lost in death and one of the things a father transfers to his child. **1992:** The second glyph is *sak-niknal*, "white-flower," as a reference to the blossoms of the ceiba. The "ik'" glyph in this phrase appears twice on the Copan Hieroglyphic Stairs simply as *na-l(i)*. We now think that *nal* is the value of the *ik'* sign outside the day car-touche,



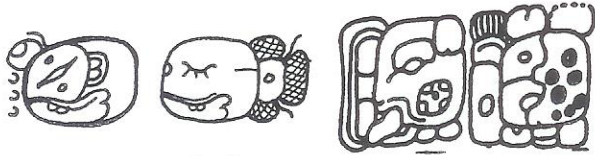
"Q" Death

hil
to expire

u cimil
his death

1991: Floyd Lounsbury identified the Quincunx death glyph although no satisfactory reading has yet been proposed. The knot-skull, normally *ha*, seems to be altered to *hi* by T679 and to refer to the Chol word *hil*, "to expire." **1992:** David Stuart has shown that the Q-event reads *och bih*, "he entered the road." We know from the Group of the Cross at Palenque that this road was the Milky Way in its north-south form of the World Tree.

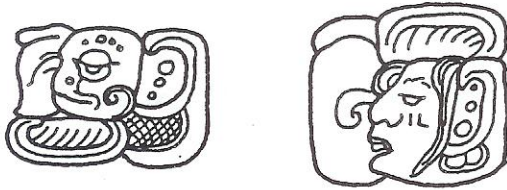
In death, the soul of the deceased enters that road to the Otherworld.



cimi, "he died"

u bah it way
"he went sleeping"

1991: Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm confirmed the phonetic value of the *kimi* death glyph, while Stuart, Houston, and Grube discovered the reading of *way* for the "spotted ahaw." The soul goes into a state of sleeping or alternatively it is transformed into the Otherworld.



Peter Mathews first read these glyphs as *mukah*, "he was buried."



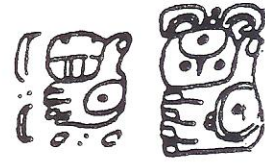
Relationship Glyphs

Chris Jones first recognized this as a relationship glyph, but he thought it was a term for "son." Peter Mathews, Floyd Lounsbury, and I followed up on Chris's work at Tikal to find the same glyph and context at most other sites and using the grammar of Mayan languages and the distribution of the glyph in the inscriptions we determined that it had to mean "child of (man)." 1991: Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm have circulated evidence that the ahaw glyph outside its cartouche reads *nik*, the word for "flower." They further proposed that this relationship glyph reads *u nichin*, a docu-

mented term for "child" in both Tzeltal and Tzotzil.



u huntan
the cherished
one of



yal
the child of woman

In his 1989 presentation at the UC Santa Barbara conference, David identified the T1.606:23 as *u huntan*. In Yukatek, *huntan* means "to care for something." The child or the god is, then, "the cherished one." David and many other epigraphers also associated the T670 "child of woman" glyph with its phonetic spelling T126.534, *y-al*, "her child" on the Naranjo pot published by Mike Coe in *Maya Scribe and his World*.



child of
parent



yunen
child of



mother of



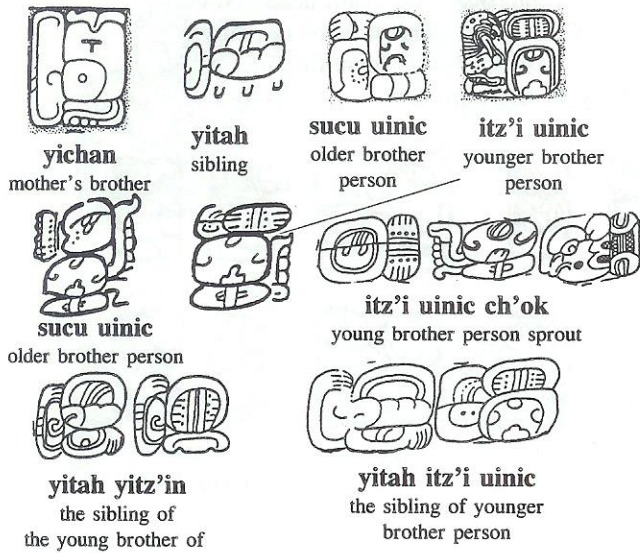
1991: David Stuart identified the function of the *yunen* glyph, while I realized that a term Nicholas Hopkins had identified as an relationship term from the Classic period was the reading of this glyph. Peter Mathews identified the "mother of" glyph, but we do not have a proven reading yet.

1992: The T712 "child of parent" reads *u lot* or *u bah ch'am*, "he went as the harvest of"

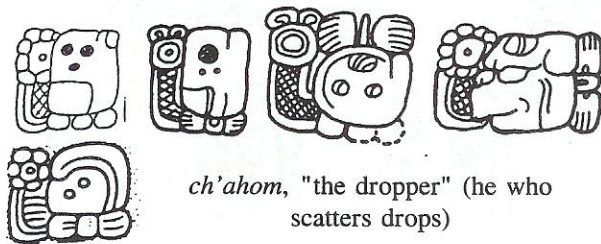
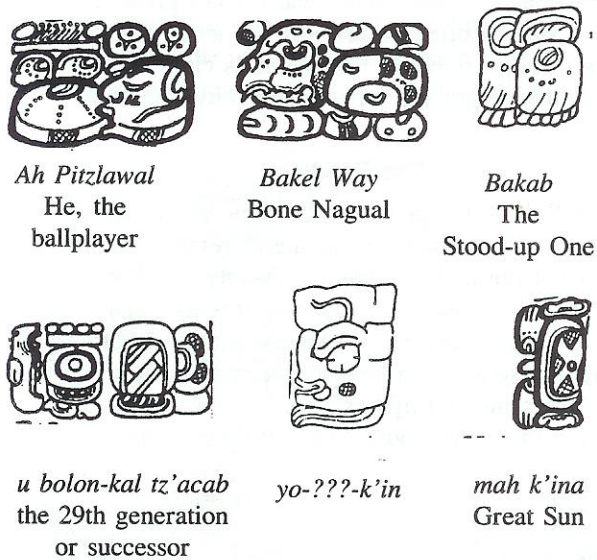
This glyph was identified as a relationship between man and woman by Knorosov, but Floyd Lounsbury found its correct reading, *yatan*, "wife of."

David Stuart identified these readings (next page) for "sibling," "older brother," "younger brother," and "mother's brother." Barbara MacLeod had found the *yitah* dependently and I came upon the *itz'in* reading preparing for the 1988 workshop. These readings have proven

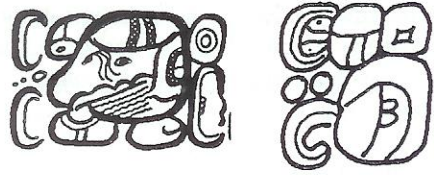




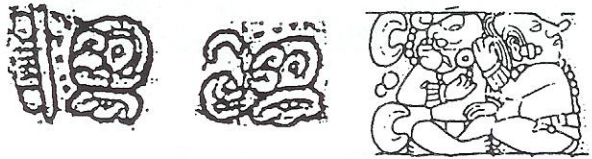
to be very important to understanding the relationships between actors of the same generation.



Titles of Kings and Governors

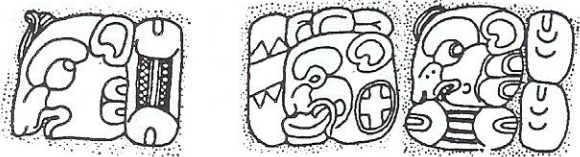


Yahaw-te, "Tree-Lord," is an important title that was carried by kings and their subordinates. When



it is possessed, *u* is added in front of the *ya* so that we have "his its-lord-tree."

Steve Houston and David Stuart have just circulated a note identifying this title, *Ah K'ul Na*, and its possessed form, *Yah K'ul Na*. 1992: I found that *ch'ul* is sixteenth century Tzotzil for "brush, clean, cleanse, plane, polish, and purify. *Jch'ul-na* is glossed as "mason." I think it may have been the principal title for masons and architects. Moreover, the three people portrayed in the cartouches on the north and south ends of the sarcophagus have this title and I have found two of the names



in other inscriptions. I think they were the master artists who designed the sarcophagus and the temple above it.

David Stuart and Nikolai Grube identified this glyph independently as a title for young people read *ch'ok*. Meaning "unripe" in Yukatek and "sprout" and "to be born" in Chol. The title was

carried by members of the lineage who were not the king. At the 1990 advanced seminar while working with the Palenque groups, we noticed that Kan-Balam became the *ba ch'ok* at his heir-designation and that his younger brother was seated in *ba ch'oklel*, "first sproutness," when his older brother became king.

In 1991 I noticed a large number of titles, including *ahaw*, *sahal*, and "sculptor," that are marked with the *ba*, "first," designation (see Texas Note 5). Apparently there was always one senior person



designated the *ba* "first" member of that rank or profession.



Hun Nal Ye ¹ GI

Ch'ok K'awil
GII

GIII

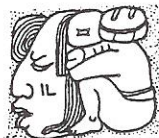
The Palenque Triad



Ek' Wayib Chak



God A'



Hun Ahaw

Gods and Supernaturals

Palenque God Series

1991: In earlier analysis I had separated the "spotted-ahaw" from the Chak glyph, but David Stuart and Steve Houston have shown that this is a single name so that the old GIV and GV should

be combined into one. The death head god corresponds to God A', a frequent actor in pottery scenes. The last glyph was identified by Lounsbury as *Hun Ahaw*.



te-kuy

antler-
vase

sky- god

mixnal or
mixnal winik

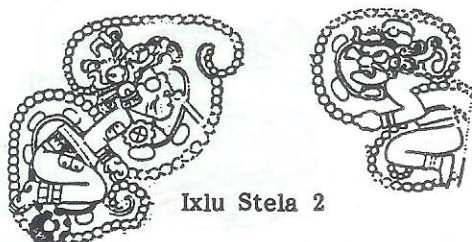
1991: This is a phrase that repeatedly occurs in Bird-Jaguar's name at Yaxchilan. We do not know the meaning of the *te-kuy* glyph. The vase compound often precedes god names and seems to go with the "sky god" name in the next glyph. Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm read the last glyph as *mixnal*. Since it often occurs with the *winik* glyph, I suspect that it refers to Bird-Jaguar's clan through the geographic region of the city it controlled.

The Paddlers

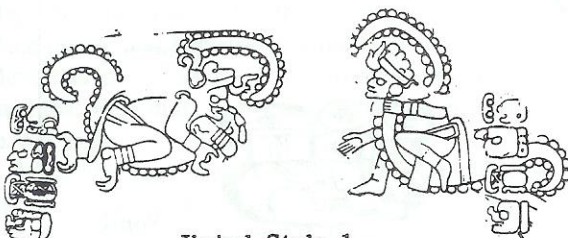
David Stuart first identified the name glyphs of the supernaturals shown as paddlers on the bones from Tikal Burial 116. Iconographically, the Paddlers are distinguished by aged features with one bearing a jaguar ear and headdress, and the other having a stingray spine through the septum on his nose. The same two figures appear in the blood scrolls in the upper register of Ixlu Stela 2 and on



¹ See Texas Note 6 for the full argument on this reading.



Ixlu Stela 2



Jimbal Stela 1

Jimbal Stela 1, where the name phrase of each accompanies his portrait. The Jimbal name phrases include a *na ho chaan* (*na* "five sky") glyph and a *na* sign attached to the rear of the glyphic portrait of the jaguar character. Using this *na ho chaan* glyph, the occurrence of the *na* sign with the name of the jaguar paddler, and the frequent use of portrait heads as their name glyphs, Stuart was able to identify the use of *ti* as a postfixed attachment to the Stingray paddlers name and to observe



Copan Stela P



Tonina M110



Tonina M42



Tonina M139

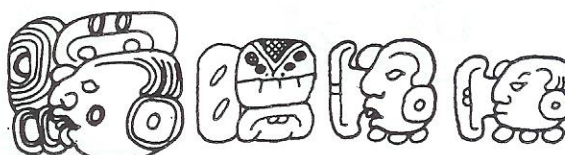


Copan Stela 6

the frequent replacement of the portrait heads with *kin* and *ak'bal* substitutions. The Paddlers have now been identified throughout the corpus as an extraordinarily important religious complex that first appears in Early Classic texts and iconography and persists until the 10th cycle monuments in the Tikal region. In glyphic contexts, they are especially associated with the "scattering" rites of period ending occasions.



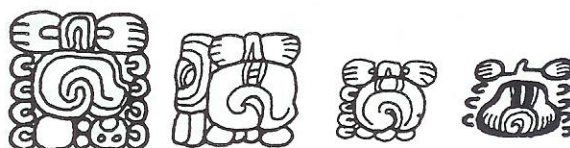
east lakin



north xaman na, nal



west chikin



south nohol?

Colors



red
chac



blue
yax



white
zac



black
ek



yellow
kan



ah



ah



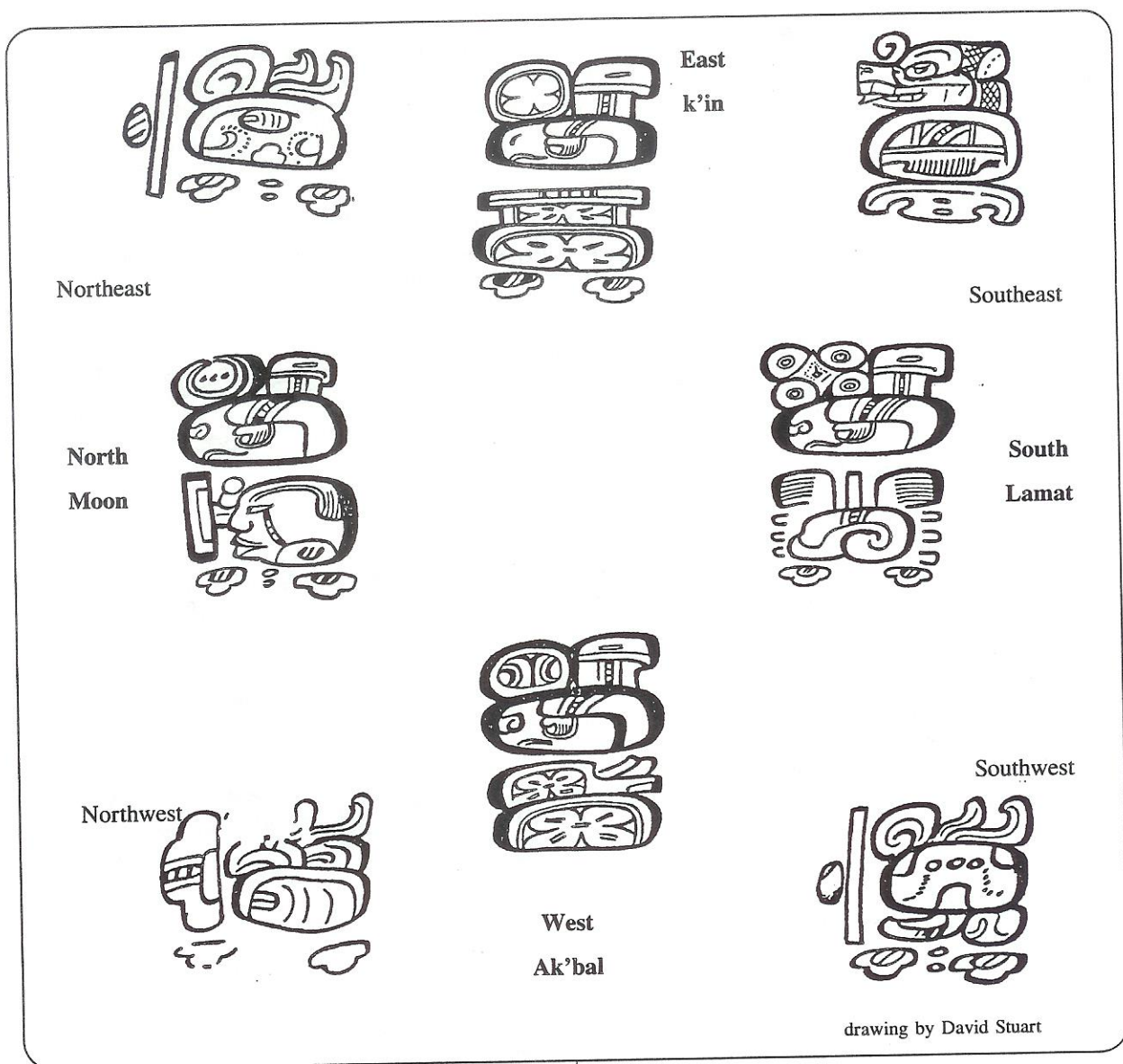
ah

male article



na'

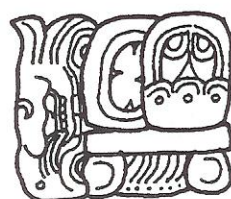
female article



Other Glyphs

1991: The glyphs above come from the walls of a tomb found at Rio Azul in Guatemala. The directional glyphs were painted on the wall appropriate to each glyph. Furthermore, each directional glyph is accompanied by a "men" glyph (I believe to read *am*, a small stone used in taking auguries), and a combination of *ah* and a glyph appropriate to the direction: *k'in* for the east; *ak'bal* for the west; the moon for the north; and Venus for the south. Oppositional pairs in this system were seen by the Maya as important paired oppositions: east-west; *k'in-ak'bal*; north-south; moon-Venus. These

oppositional pairs were used in Distance Number Introductory glyphs to represent the concept of change and a newly discovered bench uses the symbolism of *k'in-ak'bal*/moon-Venus oppositions to symbolize the center of the Cosmos.



K'in-ak'bal



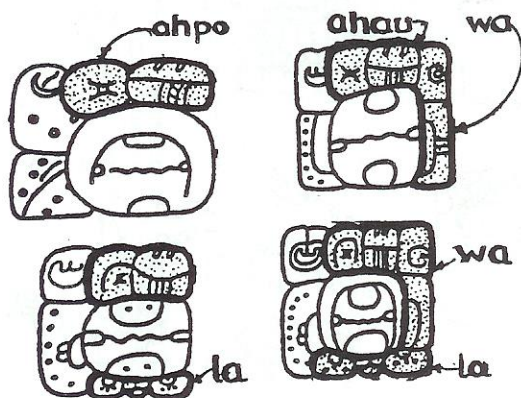
Venus-moon

Emblem Glyphs (Revised 1993)

Heinrich Berlin first noticed that certain glyphs are associated only with particular sites. He could not find evidence that securely proved them to be place names or lineage names, and in order to neutralize any meaning load concerning their function, he called them "EGs." Because no other glyph has the kind of distribution expected of place names and because it is unlikely that the Maya had no names for their cities, Kelley has argued that EGs must be place names. It turns out he was right.

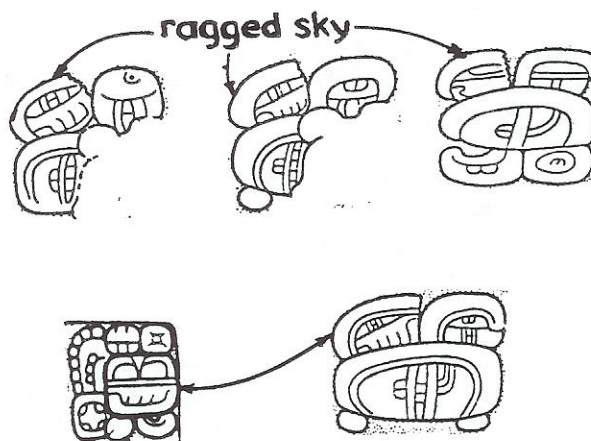
Peter Mathews's work in the 1970s and 1980s built on Berlin's earlier observation by showing that EGs are titles referring to lords as *ahaw* of particular polities. EGs are composed of two sets of constants and one variable sign that refers to the polity. EGs have a set of constant signs that surround a variable main sign. The constants records a title, usually *ahaw* in one of three ways. In the most common configuration, T168 *ahaw* is placed above the main sign. This form of the title can be accompanied by T130 *wa* or by T130.178 *wa-l(a)* as a phonetic complement. In the first case, the title reads *ahaw-(wa)*, and in the second *ahwal*, a variant of *ahaw* glossed in Tzeltal.

Peter Mathews has noticed a very interesting



variation in the way this title is recorded on Lintels 35, 36, and 49 at Yaxchilan. The main sign of the Yaxchilan EG is normally a "split-sky" or a jade earflare. In the Early Classic version, the sky

sign appears above the largest of the glyphs, in the position normally held by the T168 sign. The sky is ripped in half with the right, inner edge shown as a ragged contour. An *ah* sign, one of two signs in the T168 *ahaw* title, appears to the right of the "ragged-sky" and above the T518 glyph and its *wa* complement. The T518 is then bracketed by *ah* and *wa*, spelling the pronunciation *ahaw*. This EG reads literally "Split-sky Lord." Bruce Frumker has proposed that T518 is



simply another form of *ah*. Peter also showed that this order of reading --that is, polity *ahaw* is the one that was used in all variants. He demonstrated that whenever T168 was replaced by a head variant of *ahaw*, it followed the main sign. David Stuart and others have identified other signs, such as T87 *nal* that is written above the main sign, but read in final position.

In most EGs, the *ahaw* title and the main sign are preceded by another constant, a group of interchangeable glyphs identified by Thompson as "water." The head variant of this group had the affix attached to a head very similar to the glyph designated God C by Schellhas. We are not yet sure that the codex God C and the affix head variant are the same, but the EG character does not appear in the same contexts as the codex glyph. For example, the God C head records the sound *xam* in the codex version of "north" *xaman*, but it never appears in the north glyph in the Classic inscriptions. Furthermore, the head variant always has the dotted affix prefixed to the head, a configu-

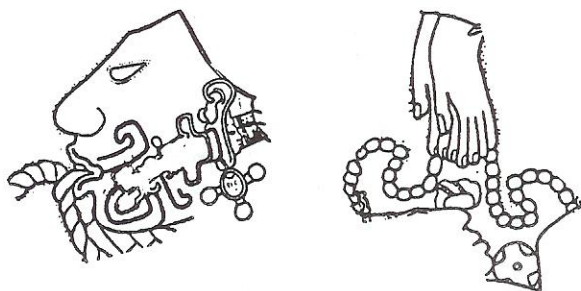
ration that distinguishes it from the codex version. The two glyphs should not be merged into a single category and read in the same way.

The Classical sign is composed of a row of dots, rendered as drilled holes or raised circles and surmounted by one of a series of signs, including yax, kan, a shell, an earflare, a mirror, inverted ahaw, etc. In its personified version, this affix is placed in front of or atop the God C head. Thompson based his identification of this complex as water on the association of some of the super-



fixed items with watery environments (the shell with water) and on the fact that it is often given as a liquid offering. His identification of the set and its environments was brilliant, but he advanced his interpretation before we had learned of the blood-letting complex.

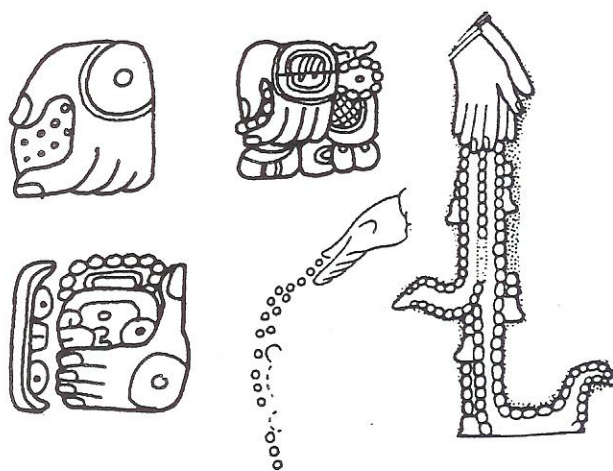
In 1979, I was asked to give a paper on human sacrifice at Dumbarton Oaks, and in assembling my data base, I noticed that the material surrounding the mouth of the woman on Yaxchilan Lintel



24 was surrounded by a scroll with a contour of circles. Since she is undergoing a traumatic tongue mutilation, it seemed to me that the substance smearing her face was logically blood, not face painting or tattooing. I looked for other examples of this dotted scroll and found it particularly associated with captives and in locations where blood is known to have been taken. I proposed that this dotted scroll marked blood flowing from sacrificial wounds.

David Stuart accepted my identification, but he was able to extend it far beyond the contexts in which I had found it. He noticed that the material scattered in the period-ending rites at Yaxchilan have the same scroll shape and dotted contour as the mouth marking of the woman, but in addition, it has the same set of symbols infixed or attached to it as does the "water-group." Furthermore, the rulers who scatter are covered with blood-letting iconography, including a personified blood-letter covering the genital area. Most importantly, he found on Seibal Stela 10 a period-ending rite recorded as T41:670, "God C blood-in-hand." The scene shows the ruler holding the Vision Serpent of the blood-letting rites (see Yaxchilan Lintels 13, 14, 15, and 25).

We took this evidence to identify the "water-



group" affix as blood, rather than water. These earlier arguments about the identification of this set of signs as "water" and then later as "blood" can be found in Thompson's 1950 *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing: an Introduction* and Robert Rands's 1955 study *Some Manifestations of Water*

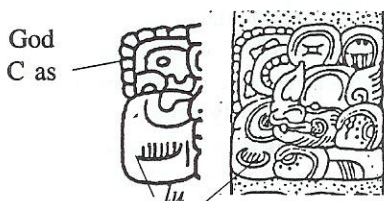
in Mesoamerican Art. See Schele and Miller's *The Blood of Kings* (1986) and David Stuart's "Blood Symbolism in Maya Iconography" in *Maya Iconography* (1988) for detailed discussions of the blood iconography.

It turns out these elegant arguments were all wrong and at least partially right. To my knowledge, several people, including David Stuart, John Carlson, and Bill Ringle, found pieces of the puzzle simultaneously and independently. The following is my understanding of the evidence as it now exists. Others may remember the sequence differently or wish to distribute the credit differently.

Apparently, Gates was the first researcher to note that God C functions as an honorific title that can refer to any god in the codices. Thompson quotes this observation (1950:80) and references Gates' suggested value of "lord." David Stuart made this same observation again in 1985 when we were working on Ancient Maya Writing. Any of the gods in the codices can be pictured with their normal portrait or as God C. The glyph should then refer to some quality that is held in common by "blood" (from the discussion in the previous section) and by gods of various identities.

The previous section on EGs describes the variety of signs and symbols that can occur in the structure category represented by the God C signs. The critical examples within this category are a set of "blood" group prefixes, including ones from Lakanha L1, Copan St. I, and the inscriptions of Chich'en Itza, which have the phonetic complement *lu* attached to them. These examples suggest that the word represented by God C should end with *-ul*.

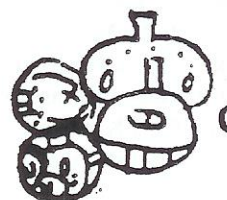
In 1987, George Stuart ordered a facsimile of the original Landa manuscript from Madrid. John



Carlson saw the facsimile when it arrived and at the 1987 workshop he showed me the original drawing of the month Kumk'u. He pointed out to me that the *k'u* part of Kumk'u was written with a clearly recognizable God C. This occurrence sug-

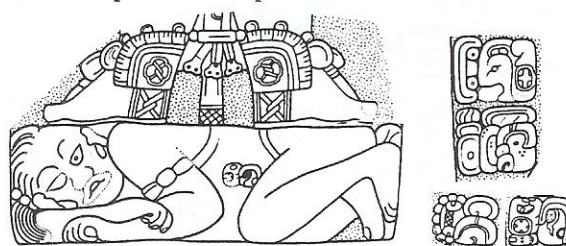
gests a value of *k'u* for God C and perhaps *k'ul* for the "blood" group prefix. I understand that David Stuart had made the same observations and arrived at the same conclusion independently. Bill Ringle had arrived at exactly the same conclusions independently. He sent a manuscript to George Stuart, which was published in 1988 as *Research Report 18, Of Mice and Men: The Value and Meaning of T1016, the God C Hieroglyph*.

K'u is glossed in the Cordemex as "dios," while *k'ul* is "adoracin, reverencia, cosa divina." In

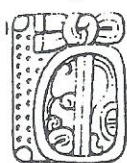


Chol (Aulie and Aulie 1978:55) *ch'uljlel* is "espritu" and "el pulso (the pulse)." *Ch'ujua'in* is "adorar" and *ch'ujul* is "permanente" and "santo." Other derivations are used for god, priest, and the sun. God C would then represent the syllable *k'u* when it functions as a phonetic sign as both *k'u* and *k'ul* when it functions as a logograph. As the latter, it reads "god" and "sacred or holy."

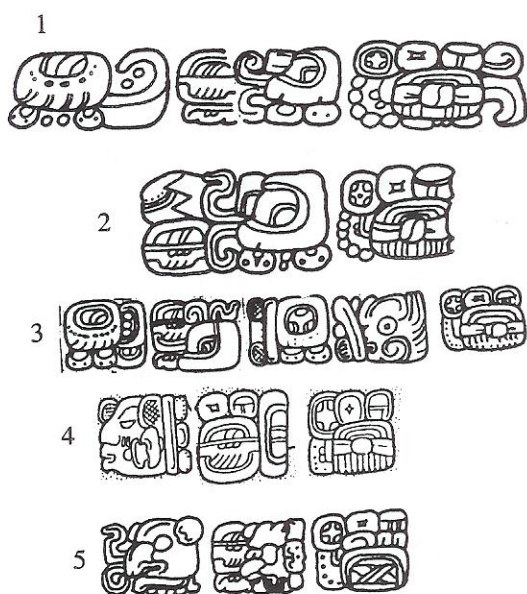
I presented many of these arguments at the 1988 workshop, but I have found several additional contexts which support the reading *k'u* for God C in purely phonetic contexts. The first is found on Stela 24 at Naranjo. In the scene, Lady 6-Sky Ahaw stands on the back of a captive named K'inichil Kab. The verb that describes this action includes the T757 auxiliary verb, *ti*, and a verbal noun consisting of *xa* and God C. The combination should give *xak'* as the action she is doing. *Xak'* is glossed in the Cordemex as "pasar abriendo los pies sobre algo (to pass opening [or placing] the feet over something)." This is an exact description of her position over the back of the



captive. On Copan Stela 9, the head variant of this sign functions as a phonetic complement for the hok' accession glyph.



EGs are therefore titles for nobles naming them as the "holy lord" of a particular polity. The read "holy polity lord." Membership in one of these polities or at least the used of the EG title appears to have passed from father to child. Berlin, Marcus, and others have noticed that a woman frequently mentioned in Naranjo texts carries the Tikal EG. The parents of this woman are also named in the Naranjo texts, but they are not from Tikal. Steve Houston and David Stuart have identified the name phrase of the father as that of Flint-Sky-God K of Dos Pilas, one of the Petexbatun sites with the Tikal EG. Shortly after this woman arrived at Naranjo, a child named, Smoking-Squirrel, was born. He acceded to the ahawship of Naranjo at age five, and we have always assumed he was the child of the Dos Pilas woman. In 1992, Matt Looper confirmed our guess by finding a yal, "child of woman," expression between their names on Stela 5 at B2. Thus,

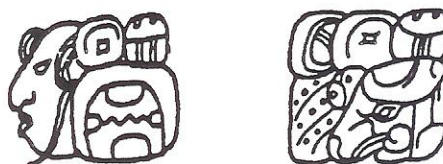


(1-2) Flint-Sky-God K from Dos Pilas Hieroglyphic Stairs; (3) name phrase of the father of Lady 6-Sky-Ahau from Naranjo Stela 24; (4) Lady 6-Sky-Ahau from Naranjo Stela 24; (5) Smoking-Squirrel of Naranjo

we have a foreign woman as mother of the ruler of Naranjo. The woman carries the Dos Pilas EG of her father, while her son carries the Naranjo EG, presumably inherited from his father, the husband of the Dos Pilas woman.

As in the Early Classic EGs from Yaxchilan discussed above, the ch'ul sign is not required in EGs. Rarely, as in the Yaxchilan examples, EGs can appear only with the ahaw title, and in women's names, the "blood" sign can be replaced by T1000a, the female prefix read as na.

At least two sites, Palenque and Yaxchilan have two distinct main signs which can be recorded as a pair. We have no hints as to the source and meaning of the Yaxchilan pair, but at Palenque, one of the EGs, the bird, seems to be related to the name of the goddess who is the mother of the gods (the Palenque Triad). This bird emblem seems to be a proclamation of the divine origin of the Palenque lineage or the divine function of the site. In a few other examples, again at Yaxchilan and Palenque, the main sign designating the local site or lineage is replaced by the T747a "vulture" *ahaw*. These rare variants seem to be



naming the lords who carry them "Lord of Lords."

The Dedication Events

The latest category of events to be deciphered are a set of verbs and nouns particularly associated with rituals of dedication, the proper names of particular objects, and the generic categories of objects. These glyphs are particularly important to the inscriptions of Copan and their decipherment was pioneered by David Stuart during the late 1980s.

The T79 Verb

This verb appears in several different forms with a variety of spellings and inflectional endings. No satisfactory phonetic value has been proposed for it, but Floyd Lounsbury was the first person to

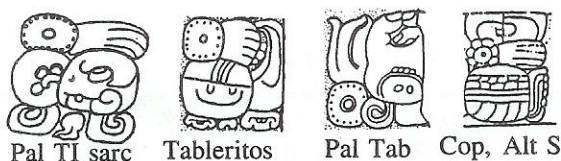
pay attention to it. He first associated it with anniversary dates on the Tableritos at Palenque. For a long time, I was misled by this association, thinking that the verb pointed toward an anniversary



Examples from Palenque

date. However, now it is clear that the action refers to some dedication or action of placement, and that such rituals were often timed by anniversary celebrations. 1994: Stuart has read this verb as *pat*. "to form or make."

At least one form resembles the "house" glyph, but this form is used to record the dedications of

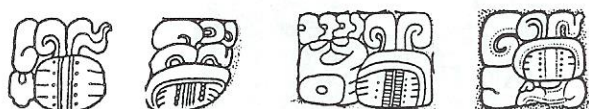


Pal TI sarc Tableritos Pal Tab Cop, Alt S



Copan Atlar U

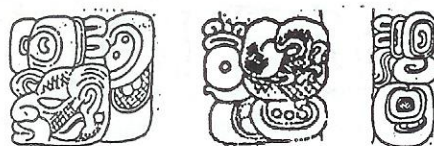
altars and stelae as well as houses. This association leads me to suspect that the house glyph, especially the variant that appears to be the thatched roof, is simply phonetic *to* or *ta*, rather than *otot*.



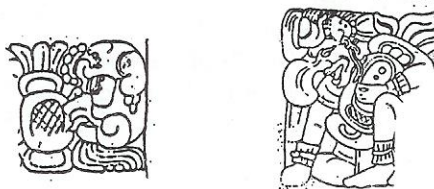
This dedication verb consists of the tail and rattles of a rattlesnake prefixed to a smoke or fire sign. 1991: David Stuart has found phonetic substitutions identifying the verb as *och* "to enter." Apparently smoke was brought into the house to dedicate it.

The *tz'ap* verb (see next page) is especially associated with the erection of monuments. Nikolai Grube has suggested a reading of *tz'ap*, "hincar

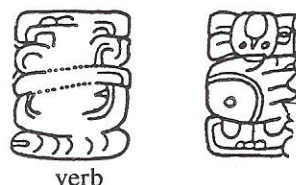
algo en el suelo (to thrust something into the ground)." Peter Mathews had much earlier proposed *tzap* as the reading of a bloodletting verb on Bonampak' Stela 2 based on its Tzotzil gloss.



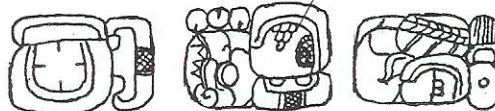
Tz'ap "to stick something in the ground"



Laughlin (1975:100) enters *tz'ap* as "pierce/with needle, nail, or feather/, place in post hole/replacement post." Peter did not associate the bloodletting verb with the dedication glyphs, but the "posthole" association is clearly related.



proper name of the house

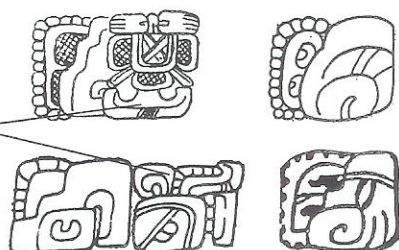


1995: This verb has been read by Stuart as *el*, "to burn," as in incensarios.



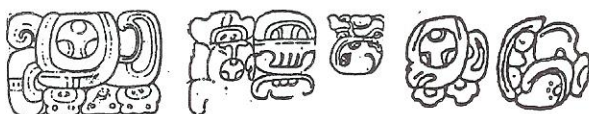
The God N verb occurs with some frequency in the PSS on pottery as well as on monuments and buildings. In his original exposition on the PSS, Mike Coe pointed out the substitution of a glyph that vaguely resembles a pyramid base or perhaps a shell for the God N verb. Barbara MacLeod has

Proper name
of a house



proposed a reading of *hoy* or *huy*, both of which are mean "to bless" or "make proper." 1993: Last fall Justin Kerr show me a new pot with a two glyph PSS. In the place of the God N glyph was pohonetic *ho-yi*. 1995: Stuart and Grube have independently suggested different readings for the pyramid version of this verb involving stepping on or climbing. I will report the resolution of these ideas next year.

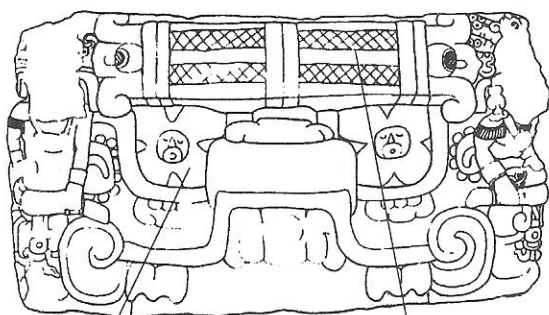
This verb also functions as the verb of the 819-



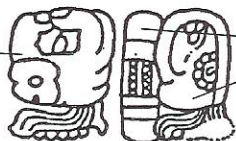
day Count expressions. In both contexts, it must have the meaning of "to place" or "to set up" -- "to set up" stela or other monuments and "to set up" a sky quadrant for God K.

Proper Names

At Copan and elsewhere, the objects dedicated are recorded with their proper names. David Stuart was the first person to recognize such a proper name on Altar U at Copan. In the summer of



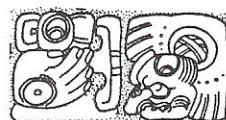
k'inich
"sun-eyed"



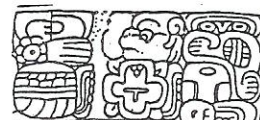
throne
stone

1986, he was checking my drawing of a glyph on its rear surface when he recognized that the glyph *k'inich*, "sun-eye" corresponds to the image carved on the front surface. The altar is quite literally a "sun-eyed throne-stone," which is exactly the glyphic named recorded on its rear. From that example, he went on to recognize the name of Quirigua Zoomorph B as "jaguar throne-stone" and to associate the names of many stela at Quirigua and Copan with either the *k'atun* ending they celebrated as in "6 Ahaw stone" or with the beings in the double headed serpent bars and head-dresses of the stelae. We have since confirmed the pattern of proper names at almost all Maya sites.

Typically the proper name appears in a formulaic expression consisting of one of the dedication verbs, the proper name, the Glyph B elbow, and the category of things to which the object belongs as in the examples below.



Palenque House AD



Copan Altar S



Copan Altar G1



Copan Stela 9



Copan Stela C



Copan Stela D

The Glyph B "Elbow"

David Stuart recognized the pattern I discussed above during our work in the 1986 season. When I presented this pattern as it appears in the Group of the Cross at Palenque, calling the God C-in-elbow" glyph a terminator for proper names. In the Advanced Seminar that followed that workshop, Judy Maxwell started using a reading of *u k'aba* "is its name" for the glyph. Shortly, thereafter, Nikolai Grube and David Stuart came up with the

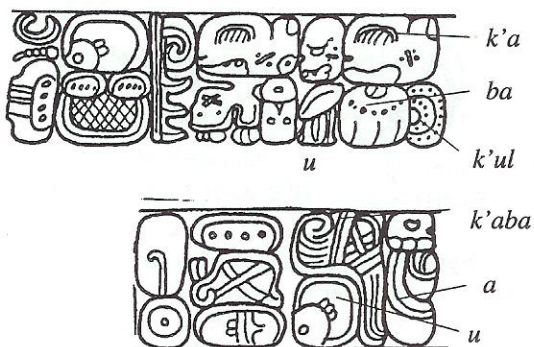


same reading independently, but David added the God C to the reading as *u k'u k'aba*, "is its holy name."

These readings can be confirmed by several substitutions. A large number of these Glyph B elbows have T228 *a* suffixed to them. At Copan, several have T501 *ba* infixed into the elbow. However, the two most telling examples have direct substitutions that confirm the value.

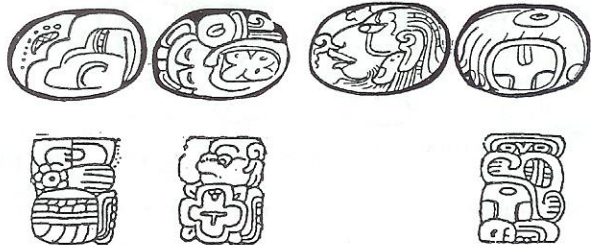
On the Casa Colorada at Chich'en Itza the normal elbow is replaced by its phonetic spelling *u k'a:ba*.

On an Early Classic plate used in just this kind



of dedication ritual, the text begins with the PSS introductory glyph followed by the shell dedication verb. The name of the plate, *u sak lak*, is followed by *u* and a glyph with a hand folded over a chuwen glyph. the word for hand is *k'ab*. Furthermore, there is an *u k'aba* glyph with the same chu-

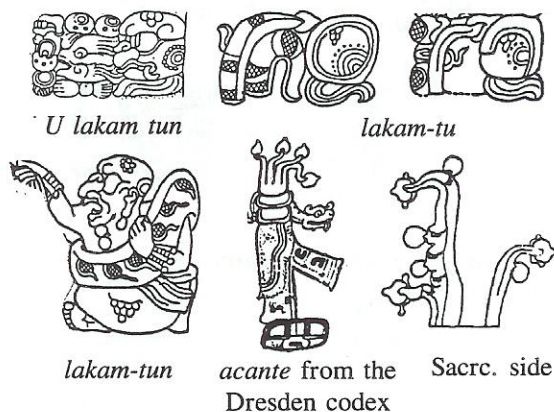
wen glyph infixed in the elbow on Copan Altar S. Most interestingly, David Stuart (Copan Note 2) has shown that the huge stone censurs at Copan were called *sak lak tun*, stone versions of the same class of object. Since this plate was a cache



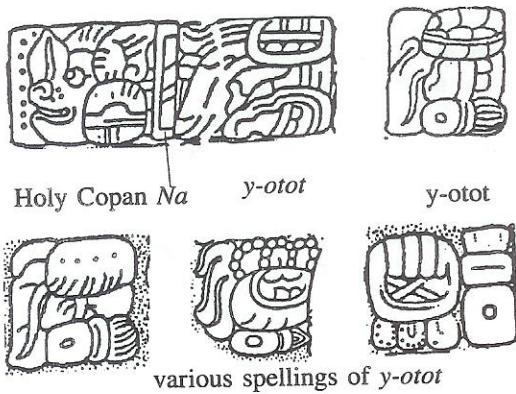
vessel, it may be that the stone censurs of Copan also received offerings.

The kinds of objects that can be named

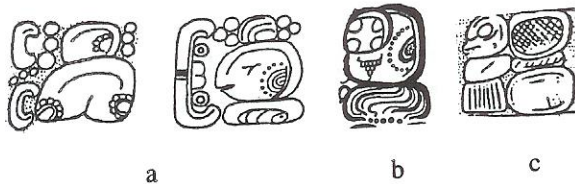
Lakam-tun, "tree-stone" or stela. On Copan Stela A, *lakam tun*, "large (huge) stone" is used to refer to the stela.



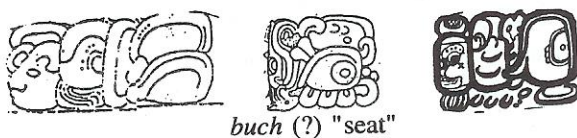
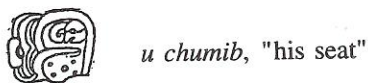
1995: David Stuart's evidence for the *lakam* reading has now been published in his and Steve Houston very important monograph on locations published by Dumbarton Oaks.



The Maya used two words for house. *Otot* meaning a "house that is possessed by someone" and *na*, a building that is not owned. The concept of ownership is inherent to the word *otot*.



(a) stands for flat sided objects like a rectangular altar at Copan and the sarcophagus at Palenque; (b) *k'an-tun*, the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs at Palenque and a round altar at Tonina; (c) *u pakab*, "his lintel."



Location and Toponyms

David Stuart and Steve Houston have made a central contribution to Maya studies by identifying place names or toponym in the inscription. This critical work is now published as a study by Dumbarton Oaks. This body of information is critical to both political and religious interpretations.

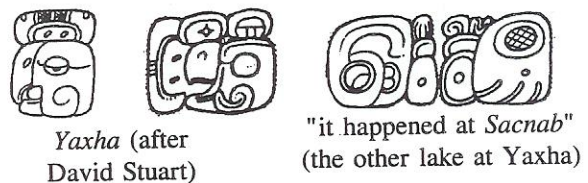
Some of these locations are identified by comparison to other inscriptions, such as the Dresden Codex or pottery scenes. One such location, a "black hole" and a glyph for a watery place are found



both in the codices and on the "Cosmic plate."
1992: Barbara MacLeod has shown that this opening was called a way, "transformation place."



Other toponyms can refer to features of the landscape, such "mountains" (see Stuart's *Ten Phonetic Syllables* paper).



Other toponyms included bodies of water. Some of the toponyms can refer to kingdoms as geographical location or they may refer to locations within a kingdom. The latter type will often follow *utih* "it had happened" (see the Petexbatun and Saknab examples above).

Other examples, especially in the Early Classic period, can appear with the "chuwen" skull glyph.
1992: David Stuart and Stephen Houston circulated a new version of their toponym paper last year. In it, they identified the "chuwen" skull as



Tikal Stela 39



Tikal Stela 31



Tikal Stela 31

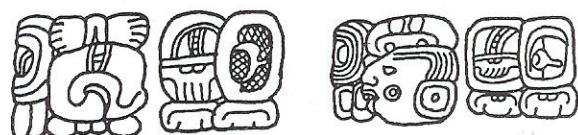


Tortuguero M6

the glyph for a bead, *uh* or "necklace." They read this combination as *uhti*, "it happened at."

One type of toponym appears in a formula in which the toponym is followed by the "sky" glyph and Thompson's "impinged bone." This "sky-impinged-bone" expression also appears with direction glyphs, especially in the 819-day Count.

1992: Barbara MacLeod has suggested the reading *kun* for "seat."



819-day Count passages from Palenque



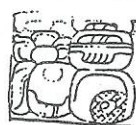
Direction from the altar to Copan Stela 13

The "sky-impinged-bone" expression also appears regularly with toponyms as well as the directions. The impinged bone usually has phonetic *na* attached to it and it can also appear in a bird head form which is distinguished by a tri-foil shape in its eye.

On Caracol Stela 3, this tri-foil glyph is one of the variants listed by Thompson under T628.



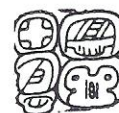
Copan Emblem Glyph as a location



Copan



Palenque



Tikal



Tikal

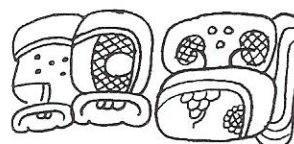


Cosmic Pot

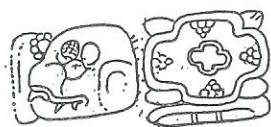
T606 (also with a *na* suffixed to it) also appears in the locative phrases. T606 and the "impinged bone" could possibly be different ways of spelling head variant of "impinged bone"



the same locative, but T606 rarely appears with the "sky" glyph. Stuart and Houston have pointed out a possible substitution to T606 for T565, sug-



gesting it could be the locative *tan*. The Cordemex (769) glosses *tan* as "in front" and "in the middle of something." For Chorti, Wisdom lists *tam* as "center, middle, interior, depth," but this may be cognate to the Yukatek term *tam* "depth" and "deep."



Copan Alt. G1



Copan Alt S



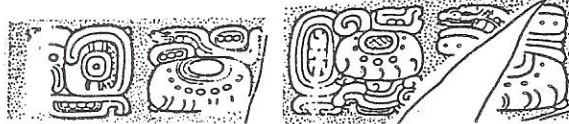
Dos Pilas St
26



Seibal St 7



Tortuguero M6



Dos Pilas St 8

1991: During the summer, Nikolai Grube and I discovered that the crossed hatched waterlily glyph and its iconic presentation was used by the Maya as their word for "courtyard." Thus, the imagery of the waterlily band that I had formerly taken to

identify an Underworld space can now be interpreted as a courtyard. Thus, as temples were mountains and stelae trees, so the surface of the courtyard was considered to be the surface of the sea.

Syntax and Discourse

Simple Clauses

The texts on the rims of pottery, those that tag objects for ownership, and others that identify figures in scenes, regularly do not have a temporal expression in the clause. Tagging expressions will often begin, for example, with a possessed noun in a stative expression saying that the object belongs to someone. Pottery texts are more compli-

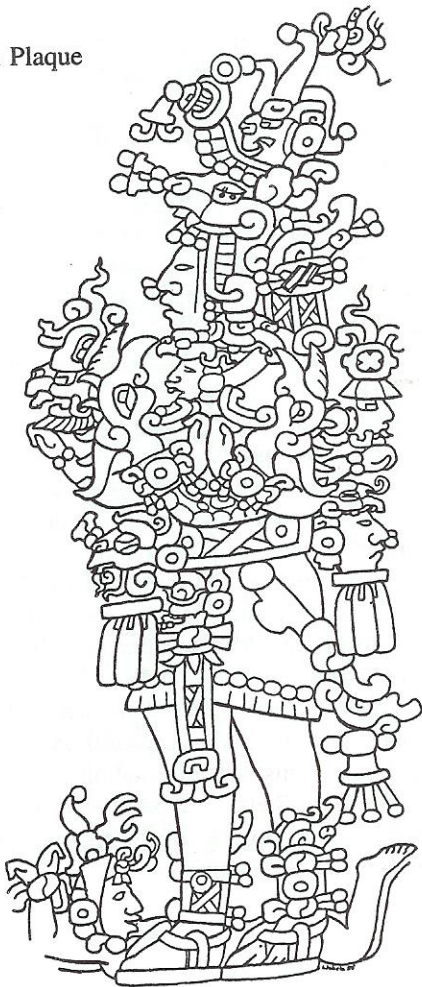


u tup "his earflares"



u bak "his bone"

Leiden Plaque



cated in that they include a verbal phrase, but the essential purpose was the same--to name the patron and sometimes the artist of the pot. These name-taggings (first discovered by Peter Mathews) and dedicatory type texts are the simplest kind used by the Maya.

Texts that regularly recorded history begin with a temporal statement that established the time-frame--often the exact day--of a particular event. Such clauses will have a verbal phrase and an actor following the date. These components of temporal, verb, and subject can be elaborated in a different ways. What and how these texts are elaborated reinforce different parts of the message and constitute a large part of the art and literary tradition of Maya writing. The Leiden Plaque, for example, begins with temporal information stated as a date in the Long Count, a system recording the



ISIG



8 bak'tuns



14 k'atuns



3 tun



1 uinal



12 days



1 Eb

G5

Yaxk'in

place??

Chan



chum "seating"



was seated



Way-ko-???



Chak-wa

time elapsed since the zero date in the Maya Calendar, 13.0.0.0.0 4 Ahaw 8 Kum'ku (or August 11, 3114 B.C.). The Calendar Round date and the Lord of the Night, G5, complete the calendric information. Stela 16, a much later text from Tikal, also opens with temporal information, but recorded as a Calendar Round date locked into position by the noting that on this day the 14th k'atun ended. In Mayan languages, cardinal numbers (14th) are distinguished from ordinal numbers (14) by the use of a possessive pronoun. The sign filling the left edge of the glyph block is one of the Set A pronouns that are used to possess nouns.

On the Leiden Plaque, the verb is the T644 "seating" (chum) glyph, and since this verb is usually followed by a title phrase recording the office, I have assumed that the vulture glyph in the next block records the office. On Stela 16, the verbal expression contains two phrases. The first records that the "14th k'atun was completed," and the second that "the tun ended." The Leiden Plaque name phrase contains three glyphs, while Stela 16 records the protagonist with his personal name, a sky-God K title, the Emblem Glyph, a title based on a waterlily and winal glyph, and a notation that this fellow was a "four-k'atun lord" (he was between 40 and 60 years of age at the time of this event.)

Elaboration of a Simple Clause and Redundancy of information

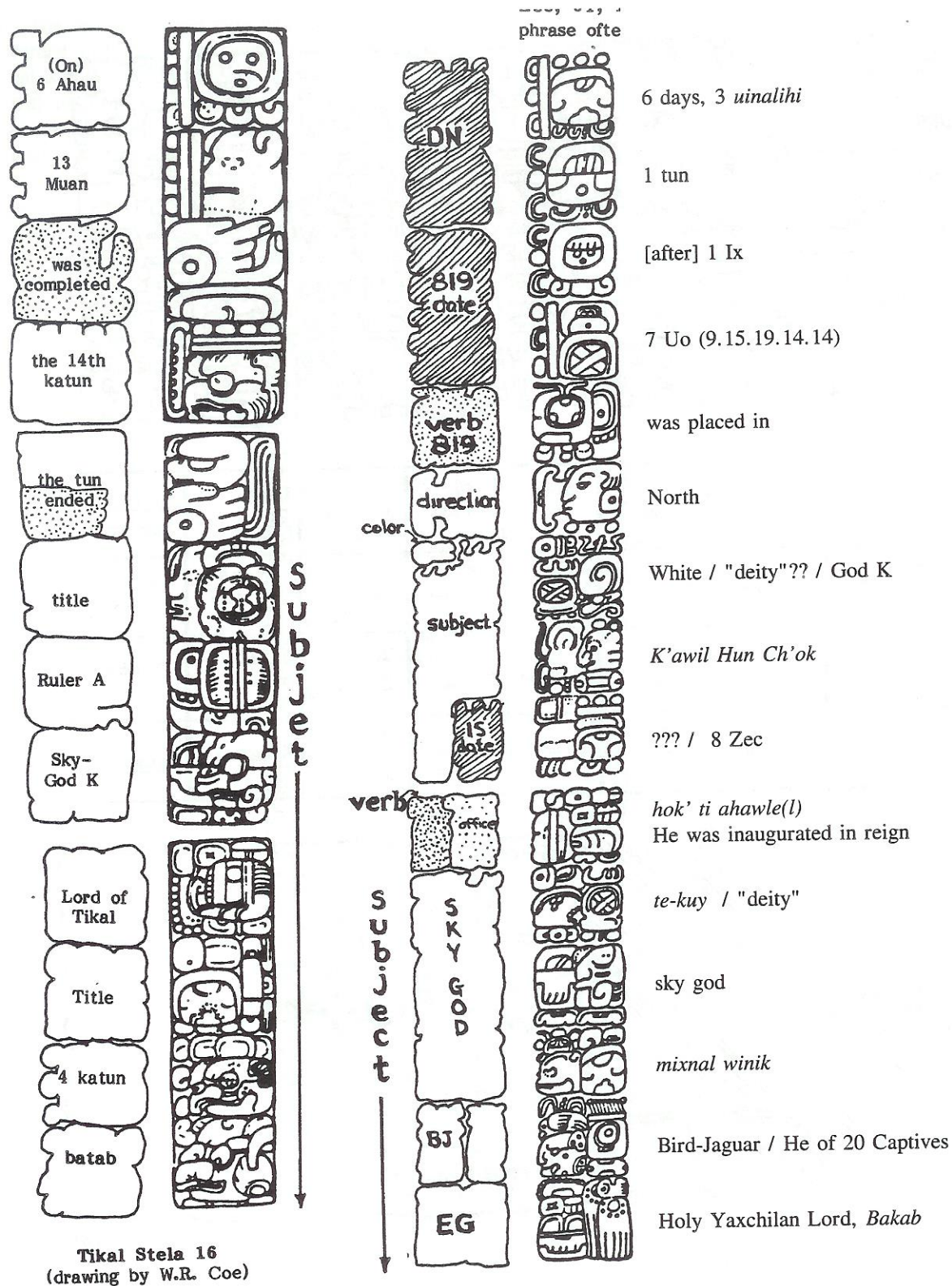
The text from the sides and front of Yaxchilan Stela 11 illustrate both the redundancy characteristic of Maya public inscriptions and the variation in phrase structure used to enrich the style of presentation and relieve the boredom of repetition. The text from the sides records the accession of Bird-Jaguar of Yaxchilan. It begins with a Long Count date (missing from the illustration), elaborated to include a the Lord of the Night, Glyph Y passage, the age of the moon, a specialized supplementary series peculiar to Yaxchilan inscriptions, and the station in the 819 day count (included in the illustration). The verb is the T684 hok'ah verb for accession, followed by a prepositional phrase recording the office as ta ahaw le. The text ends with a relatively simple version of Bird-Jaguar's name phrase, including a "skygod"

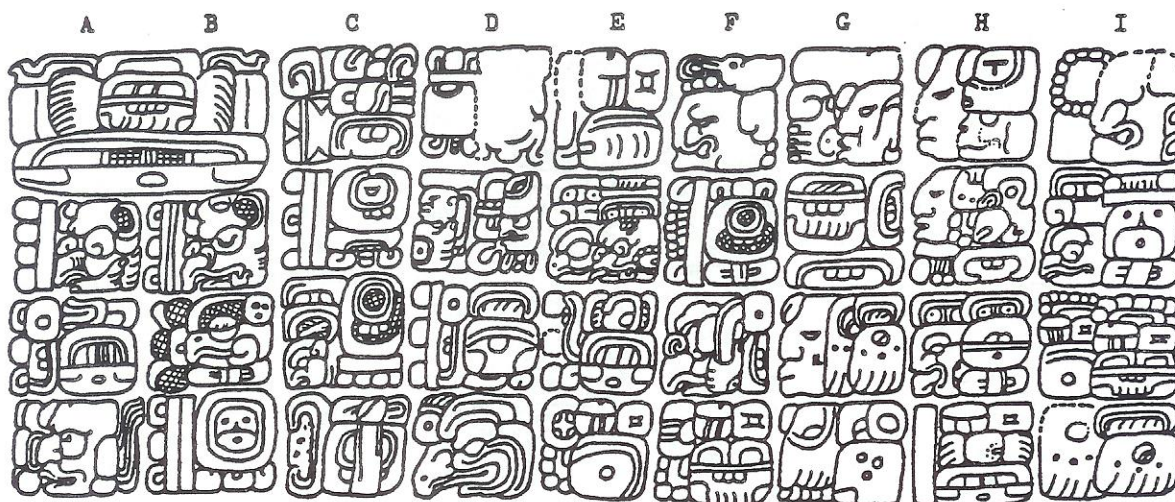
title sequence (composed of te-kuy title, a deer horn over an inverted vase, the sky glyph, a supernatural head (skygod), and mixnal winik compound), followed by Bird-Jaguar's personal name, a title noting him as "he of 20 captives," the Emblem Glyph, and the bakab title.

The same information is repeated in the lower register on the front of Stela 11. The date is again recorded in a Long Count notation with the Lord of the Night, Glyph Y, and the age of the moon; the 819 day count station is not repeated on the front. The verb is the same as on the sides, but it is elaborated graphically to occupy three glyph blocks rather than one. Bird-Jaguar's name phrase, in contrast to the sides, features different information. It begins with Bird-Jaguar's personal name glyph, followed by "guardian of Ah Kawak," "he of twenty-one captives(?)," "3-k'atun batab," and both Emblem Glyphs. The remainder of the text is an extension of the standard name phrase recording Bird-Jaguar's parentage. The mother's name, "Lady Ik'-Skull Sky, Lady Ah Ch'ul Na, and Lady Batab," hollows the T670 "child of mother" glyph and the father's name phrase follows T712 "child of parent" glyph.

Both texts utilize a simple verb-subject clause, but each features a different kind of information. In both texts, the date is given in Long Count with the Lord of the Night, the Glyph Y passage, and the age of the moon, but the 819 day count and the special supplementary series is found only on the sides. The verbal phrase is the same in both texts, but it is graphically elaborated on the front. It is in the name phrases that the full difference can be seen. On the edges, Bird-Jaguar is recorded with the "sky-god" title, his personal name, a number of captives title, a single Emblem Glyph, and the bakab title. On the front, the "sky-god" title is eliminated, and "captor" and "numbered k'atun" titles are added to the name phrase. Both Emblem Glyphs are used, and the full-name phrase is extended to record the names with titles of Bird-Jaguar's mother, Lady Ik'-Skull, and father, Shield-Jaguar. This last information is repeated twice more on Stela 11; his full figure portraits of his parents occupy the upper registers on the front and rear of the monument.

.X





ISIG with patron of Tzec		G9 ruled	Z	ahawle(l) reign	Bird-Jaguar	child of woman	Lady <u>Ik-Skull</u>	Shield-Jaguar
9 baktuns	16 katuns	12 days after it arrived	5E X	captor of <u>Ah Cauac</u>	Ah Hun K'al Bak	sky	Na Ah Ch'ul Na	guardian of Ahawal
1 <u>te</u> tun	0 uinals	was the name of the 29	8 <u>te</u> Tzec	3 katun	<u>batab</u>	Lady <u>Bacab</u>	child of	Ch'ul Yaxchilan Ahaw
0 kins	11 Ahau	hok'ah came out	ti in	Ch'ul Yaxchilan Ahaw	parent	5 katun	<u>Bacab</u>	

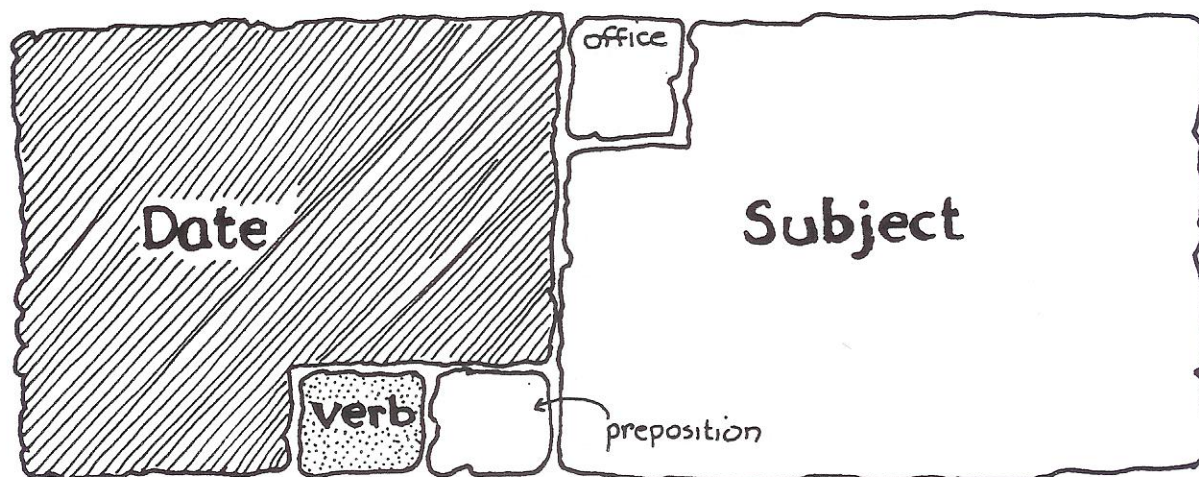
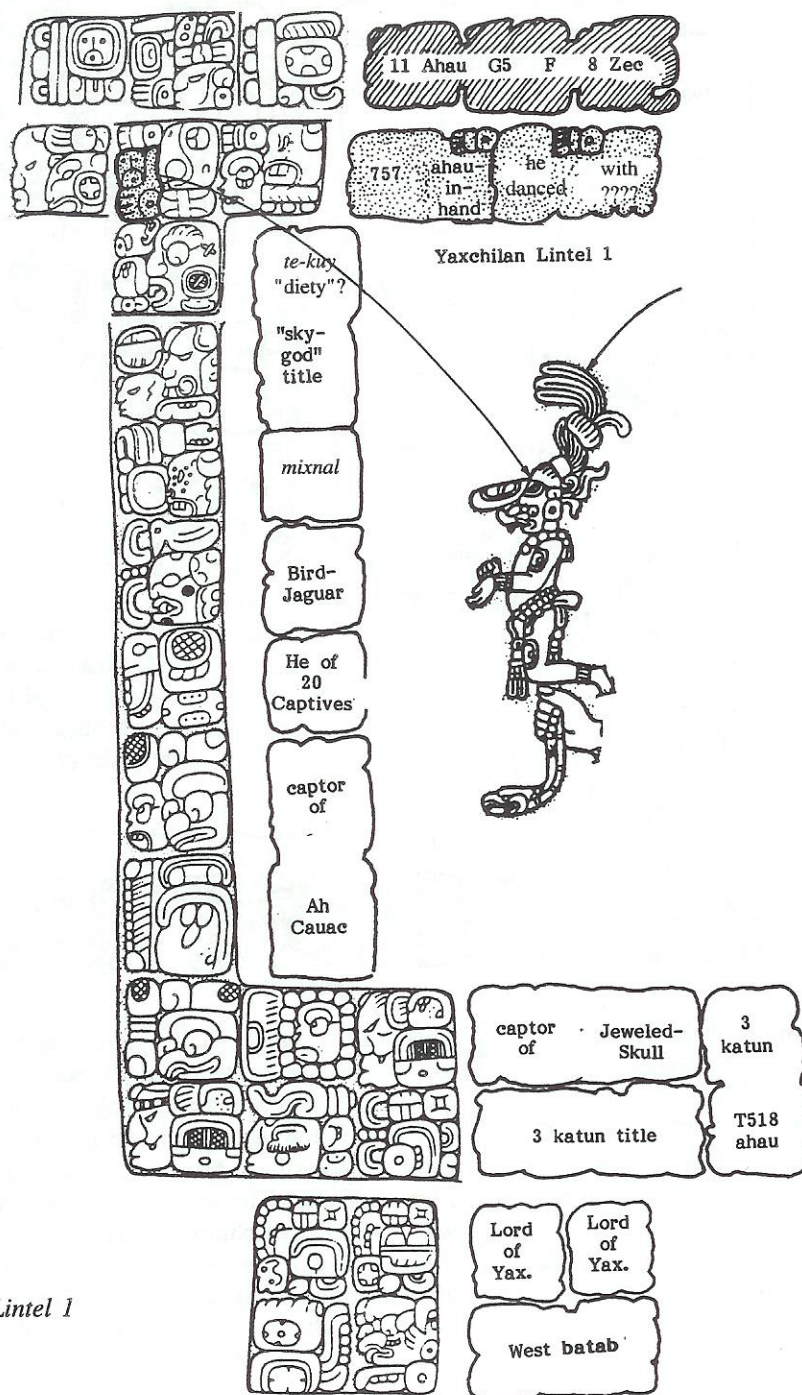


Chart of Stela 11 syntax

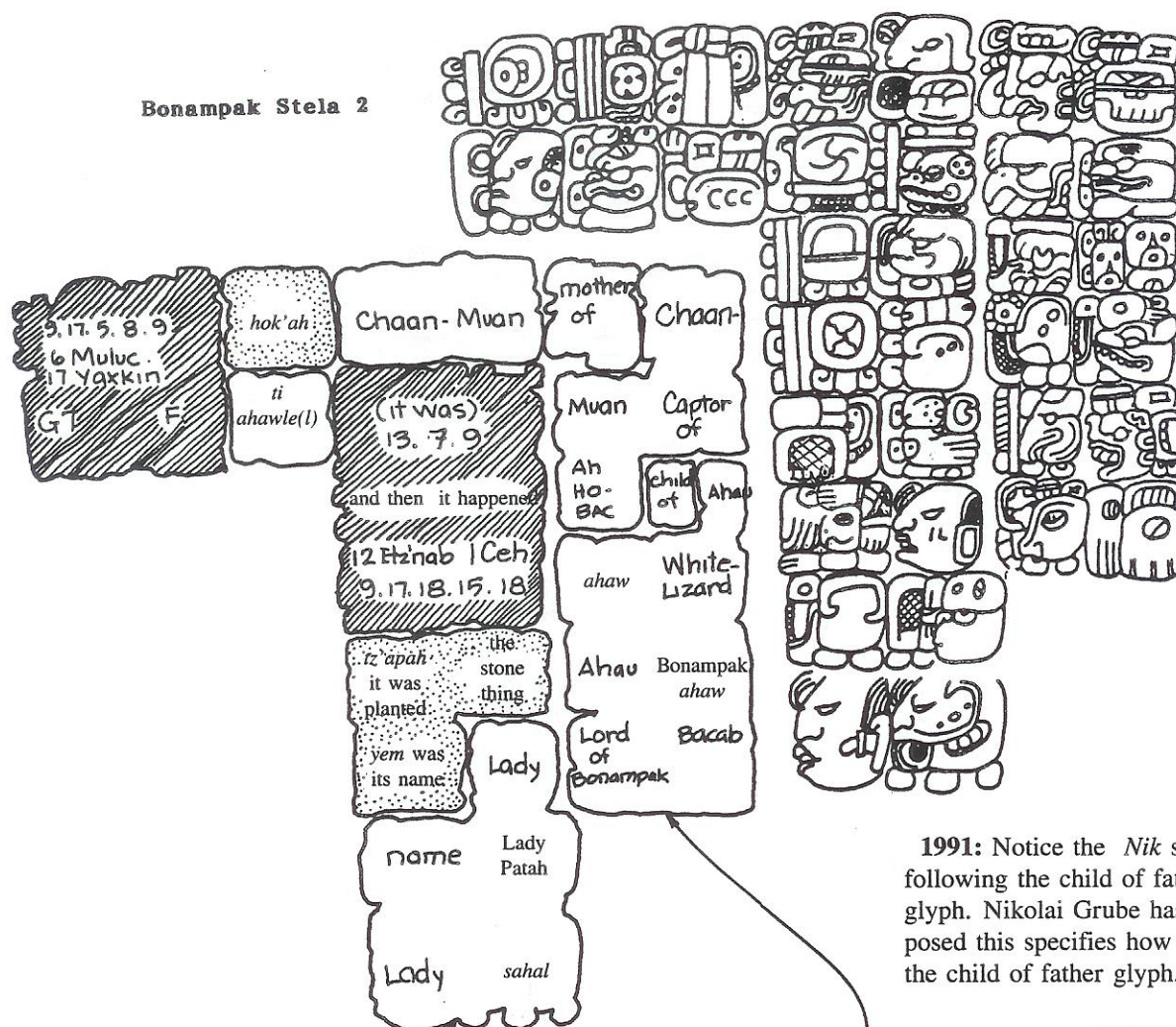
The same accession information is again recorded on Lintel 1, but here the performance ritual is emphasized. The date is recorded as a CR with the Lord of the Night and a verbal couplet composed of the auxiliary verb expression, "he goes grasping God K" and he dances with an ob-

ject." The name phrase is elaborated in yet another pattern that includes the "sky-god" title phrase, *mixnal* (without the *winik* glyph), Bird-Jaguar's personal name, "he of twenty captives," two guardian titles, two numbered k'atun titles, both emblem glyphs, and "west *batab*."

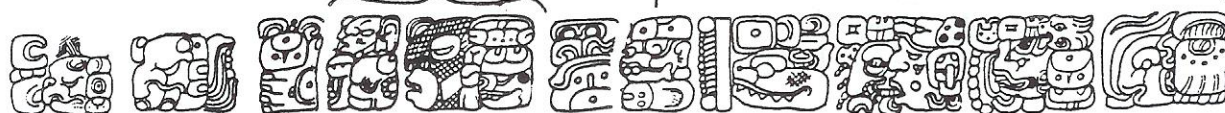


Yaxchilan Lintel 1

Bonampak Stela 2



Bonampak Stela 1



One of the most interesting of these very elaborate name phrases is found on Bonampak Stela 2. The text consists of two clauses, the first recording "(on 9.17.5.8.9) 6 Muluk 17 Yaxkin, G7 ruled, he came out in *ahawle*, Chaan-Muwan." The second clause begins with a DN of 13.7.9 counting until the day 12 Etz'nab 1 Keh (9.17.18.15.18). The second verb has a dedication recording that some object (perhaps the stela itself) was planted, that "scattering" was its name, and that the person who dedicated it was Lady ???

Patah, Lady *Sahal*. F1 is a glyph identified by Peter Mathews as a relationship between a mother and child that seems best paraphrased as "mother of." It is followed by the name phrase of her child, "Ahpo-Chaan-Muwan, guardian of "He of Five Captives." The second part of Chaan-Muwan's appellative phrase names him as "child of White-Lizard." The relationships stated in this text are confirmed on Stela 1, where Muwan-Chaan is named as "child of the woman, Lady Patah" and "child of the man White-Lizard Lord of Bonam-

pak'." The second clause of Stela 2 names the subject of the verb as "Lady Patah, mother of Chaan-Muwan, who was child of White-Lizard."

The imperatives that may have governed the choice of title sequences in different texts are not yet understood. Particular rites may have demanded particular title sequences, but it seems evident that to some degree, the amount of space and importance of the text contributed to the amount of elaboration present. In addition, each site seems to have followed local traditions as well; many title sequences are limited to one site or region, while others appear at all sites.

The *Ti* Constructions

In 1974, Jeff Miller and I were going over copies of Ian Graham's field drawings when we noticed a possible identification for T757, previously shown by Proskouriakoff to be a rodent, rather than a combination of dog and rabbit Thompson called a jog. In follow-up studies, I noticed a regular occurrence of this rodent head in the position of a verb and followed by a *ti* sign and additional glyphs. Although I had no explanation of this pattern, I anticipated that it was of importance, and when David Stuart and I were having an "intense" discussion of these structures in the inscriptions of Yaxchilan, it occurred to me to ask a linguist if similar patterns were known in modern Mayan languages. Nicholas Hopkins and Kathryn Josserand, who were conducting field studies of Chol, happened to be in the next room, and when asked if they knew of anything in spoken Maya that might explain these glyphic structures, they immediately associated them with exactly parallel constructions from spoken Chol.

In the inscriptions, these kinds of constructions have the following characteristics:

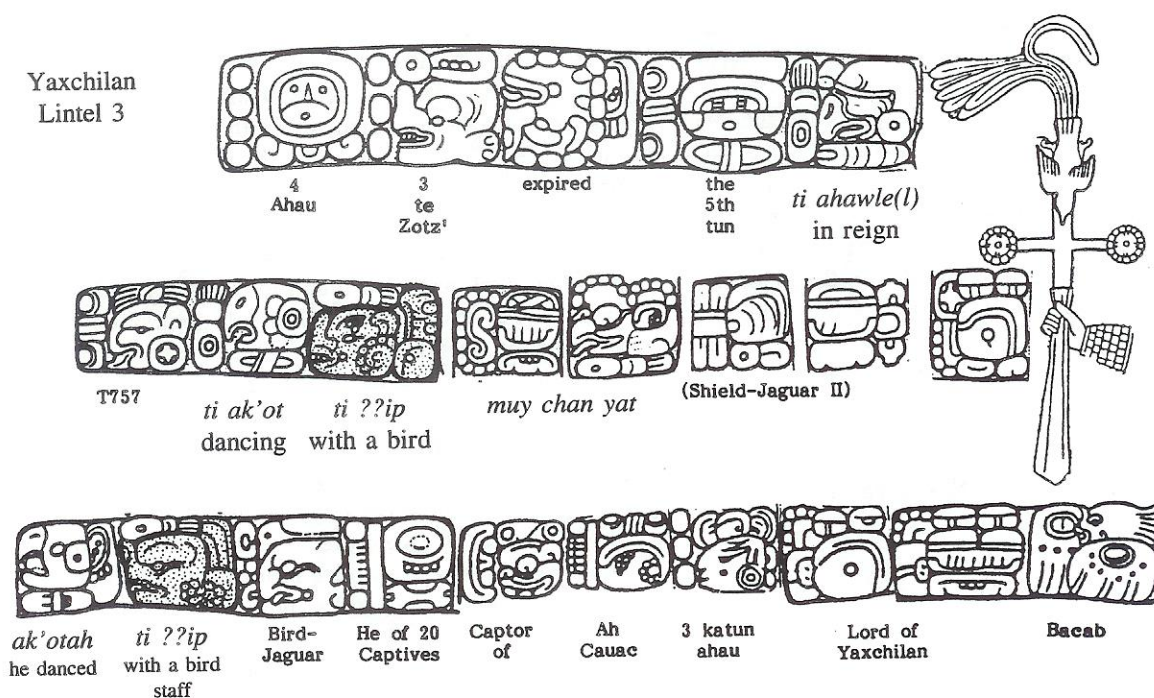
(1) One of two special verbs is followed by a phrase containing glyph(s) that function in other contexts as main verbs, as denoted by both clause initial position and occurrences with known inflectional affixing. The second part of these constructions can appear in two forms: (1) a glyph (or glyphs) that follows the first verb and carries normal verbal affixing or (2) a glyph (or glyphs) that follows the first verb and a *ti* sign, and is stripped of all verbal affixing.

(2) the verbs appearing in the first part of such constructions occur with many different actions, while the glyphs in the second part of the scene co-vary with some component in the accompanying scenes. Therefore, the specification of action or state resides in the glyphs of the second part; the initial glyphs have some general function common to these structures.

(3) One verb has been found in the first part of these special structures: T757 which occurs both as a general verb followed by semantically specific complements and as an independent verb without complements.

The linguistic structures that parallel these glyphic structures behave in the same manner. There are a set of verbs in Chol that occur in complex structures of two types: (1) verbs followed by other verbs where both have inflectional affixes, and (2) verbs followed by *ti* and a verbal noun. In the latter case, only the first verb is inflected; the second appears in the form of a noun derived from a verb. The verbs appearing in these contexts are of two types: (1) verbs that occur only in these situations and never as independent verbs, and (2) those that occur as both independent verbs and as these prefixed verbs. Both types of verbs give information about the aspect of the action, as in "I began to run" or "I finished running." Applying evidence concerning the function of these linguistic structures to their corresponding structures in the inscriptions, we called them auxiliary verb constructions, based on the definition of an auxiliary verb as one "that helps to form the voices, moods, tenses, etc. of other verbs." In the case of the *ti* constructions both in spoken language and the inscriptions, the first verb is syntactically the main verb while the word following *ti* is a noun, but the particular action or state is semantically specified in the *ti* + verbal noun phrase, not the main verb.

1991 addition: In the years since we discovered these *ti* constructions, new information has changed their interpretation somewhat. Vicky Bricker's work with "split-ergative" inflection on verbs has shown that the verb is the present progressive of the auxiliary verb *bah*. In Tzeltal, this verb means "to go," an equivalent of the verb *ma-hlel* in modern Chol. *U bah* is "he goes" with the rough equivalency of "he is doing" in English.

Yaxchilan
Lintel 3

The most frequent occurrence of these "he is doing something" phrases occurs in texts that are embedded in the scene so that it is evident that the ancient Maya considered that recording an action in stone imagery froze it into an eternal present.

Only this *u bah* verb functions as an auxiliary. The T516.103 verb we had thought to be an auxiliary because of its context has been read by Nikolai Grube as *ak'ot*, "to dance," and the *ti* constructions that follow are prepositional phrase naming the objects carried in the scene, just as Peter Mathews suggested long ago. Thus, *u bah ti ak'ot ti* "object" is "he goes dancing with an object."

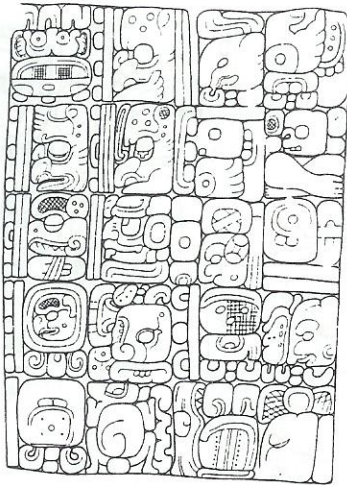
Multiple Clauses and Linkage with DNs

Many Maya texts record more than one clause, often linking them temporally by DNs. Events important to public legitimization of the rulers were featured in these kinds of texts so that the patterns of association tell us something about the strategies of social charter that worked in Maya society. These associations usually fall into one of the following categories: (1) events within the life of one person, such as birth and accession, accession and period-ending rites, accession and building dedications, etc.; (2) events in the lives of different per-

sons, especially successive rulers; (3) events in the lives of living rulers and historical ancestors; (4) events in the lives of mortals and legendary or mythological personages.

When these events are linked into more complex syntactical structures, the scribe could vary the elaboration, style, syntax, and detail recorded in each section of the text. Clauses relating events widely separated in time or with different agents often retain all syntactical components, but when events within the life of one person are related or if missing information is recoverable from the context, redundant information could be eliminated. For example, in English we can say "He entered school in 1978. He graduated four years later" or "He graduated four years after he entered school in 1978" or "He entered school in 1978 and graduated four years later." The information imparted in these sentences is equivalent, but the syntactical structure is different in each. Exactly this kind of syntactical variety is used in Maya texts.

The four clauses on Yaxchilan Lintels 29, 30, and 31 record a series of events in the life of Bird-Jaguar, culminating perhaps with the dedication of Structure 10, the building housing these lintels. The first clause begins on Lintel 29 with the Initial Series Date recording 9.13.17.12.10 8 Ok 13



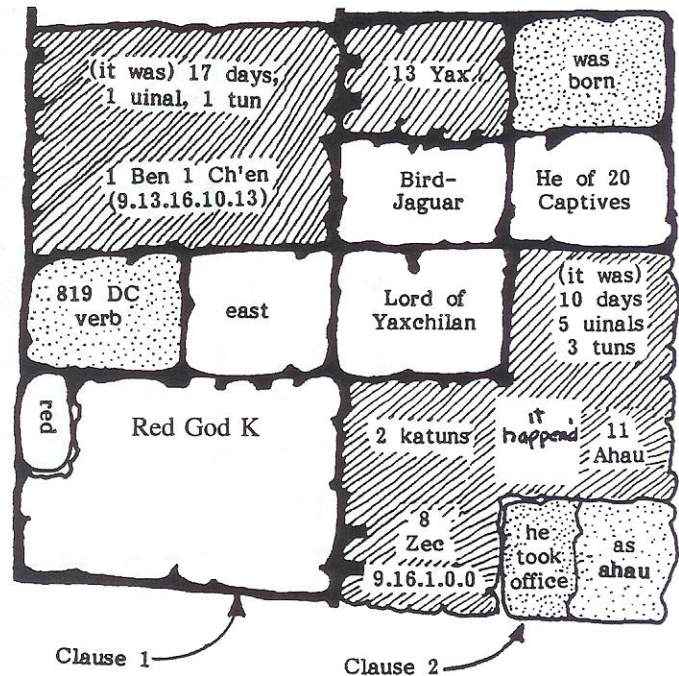
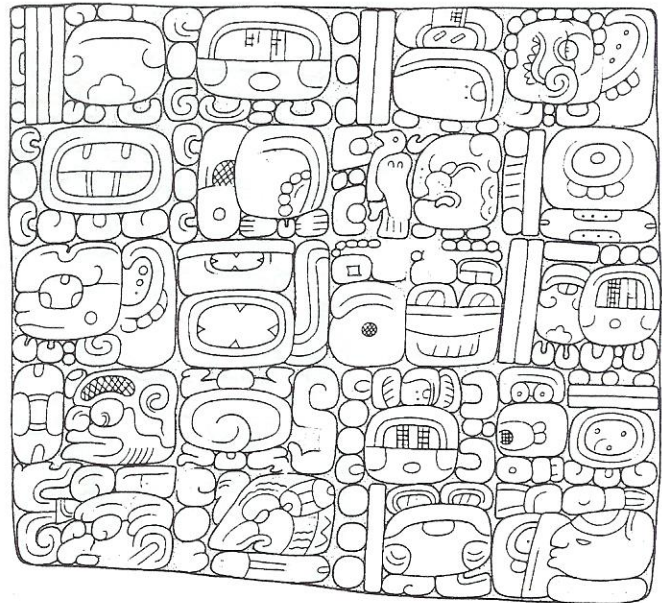
ISIG with the Patron of Yax, 9.13.17.12.10, 9 Oc, G7 ruled, *ho bixi* Z, 15 days after it arrived, the 5th moon closed, X was the "sprout" name of the 30; 6 ???-hi, was drilled (*hoch'ih*), the fire of (*u k'ak'*),

Lintel 29

Yax. The addended information about the date continues to Lintel 30, which opens with a DN and the parenthetical 819 day count passage. The haab position for this opening date is recorded at the top of the third column as 13 Yax. The first thirty-one glyphs from this text are used to record nothing more than information about the date. The event occurring on this date was the birth of Bird-Jaguar. The second clause begins with a DN linking the birth to Bird-Jaguar's accession, recorded at H5 by the T684 verb. The clause continues to Lintel 31, where the first three glyphs record the subject as Bird-Jaguar.

The third clause begins with another DN, linking the accession to another event recorded in a couplet expression. The subject of the first part of the couplet has the *Mah K'ina* title preceding the front head of the Celestial Monster and *na*. The subject of the second verbal phrase is Bird-Jaguar. These two verbal phrases have not been deciphered, but since the second half of the couplet includes a *tu otot* glyph, I suspect it may record the dedication of Structure 10. The final clause records the "expiration of the 17th k'atun" an event that does not require an agent. Paraphrases of these four clauses are as follows:

Lintel 30



(On) 9.13.17.12.10 8 Ok

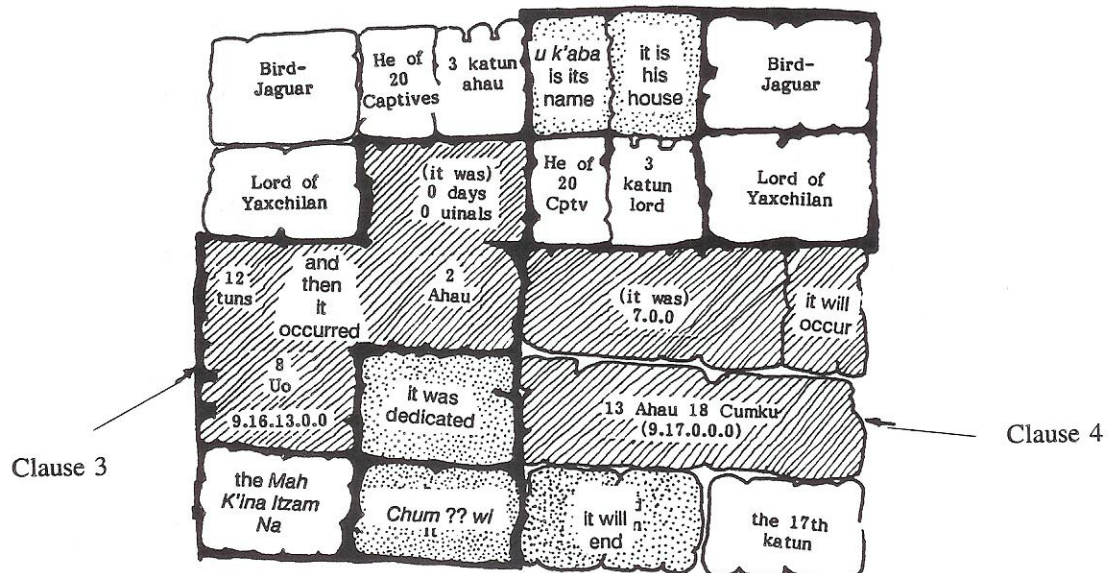
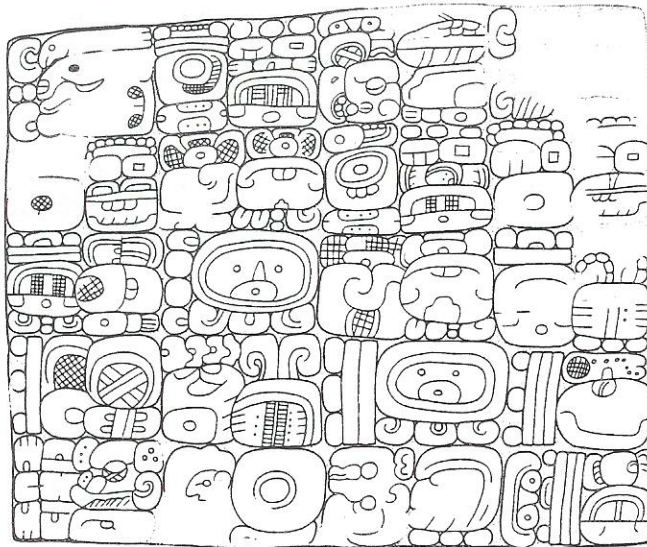
G7 ruled and age of the moon

(it was) 17 days, 1 uinal, 1 tun (since)

1 Ben 1 Ch'en he did the 819 DC event

East Red God K 1-Rodent-Bone

Lintel 31



13 Yax he was born Bird-Jaguar,
He of 20 Captives, Lord of Yaxchilan

(it was) 10 days, 5 winals, 3 tuns, 2 k'atuns
and then it happened 11 Ahaw 8 Tz'ek

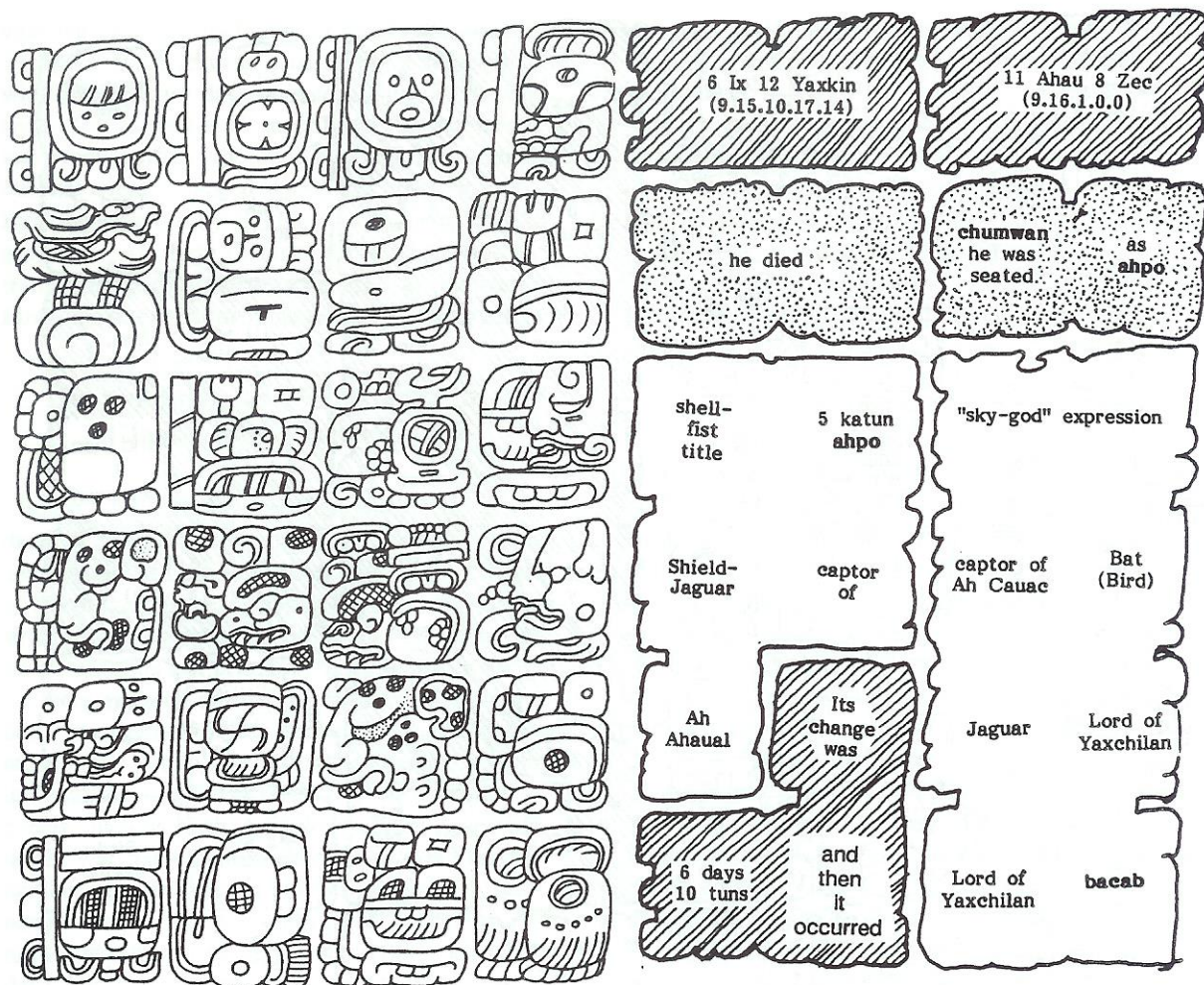
He was inaugurated as *ahaw*

Bird-Jaguar, He of 20 Captives,
Three K'atun Lord, Lord of Yaxchilan

(it was) 0 days, 0 winals, and 13 tuns
and then it happened 2 Ahaw 8 Wo
smoke entered it

Mah K'ina Itzamna was its name
it was the house of

Bird-Jaguar, Three K'atun Lord
Lord of Yaxchilan



Stela 12

(it was) 0 days, 0 winals, 7 tuns
and then it will happen 13 Ahaw 18 Kumk'u
will expire the tun, the 17th k'atun

The texts from Stela 12, located adjacent to Stela 11, also uses a multiple clause structure to linking different events: Bird-Jaguar's accession and the death of his father, Shield-Jaguar. The text is paraphrased as follows:

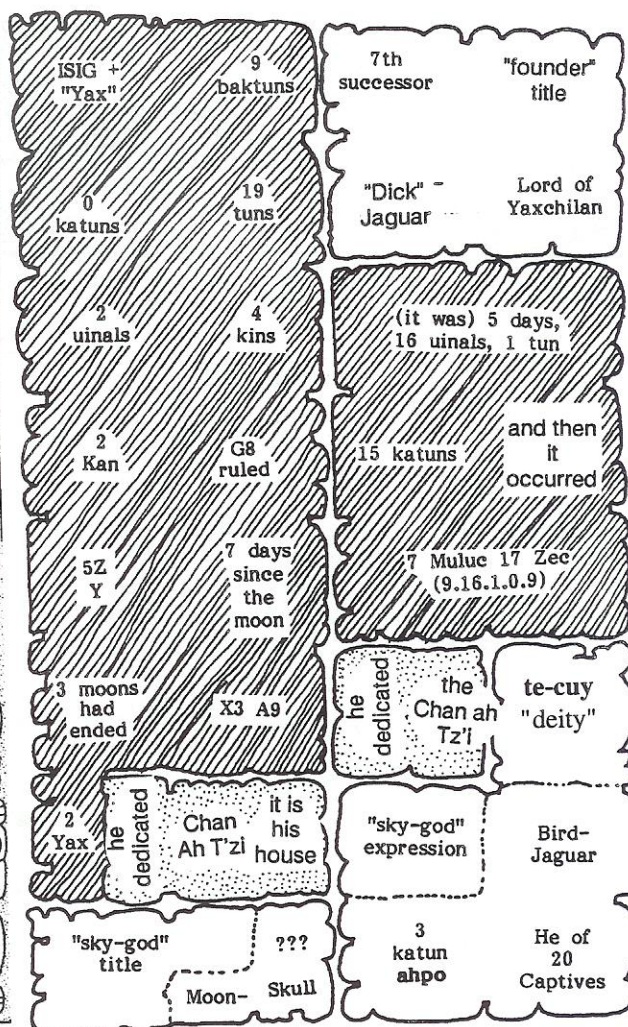
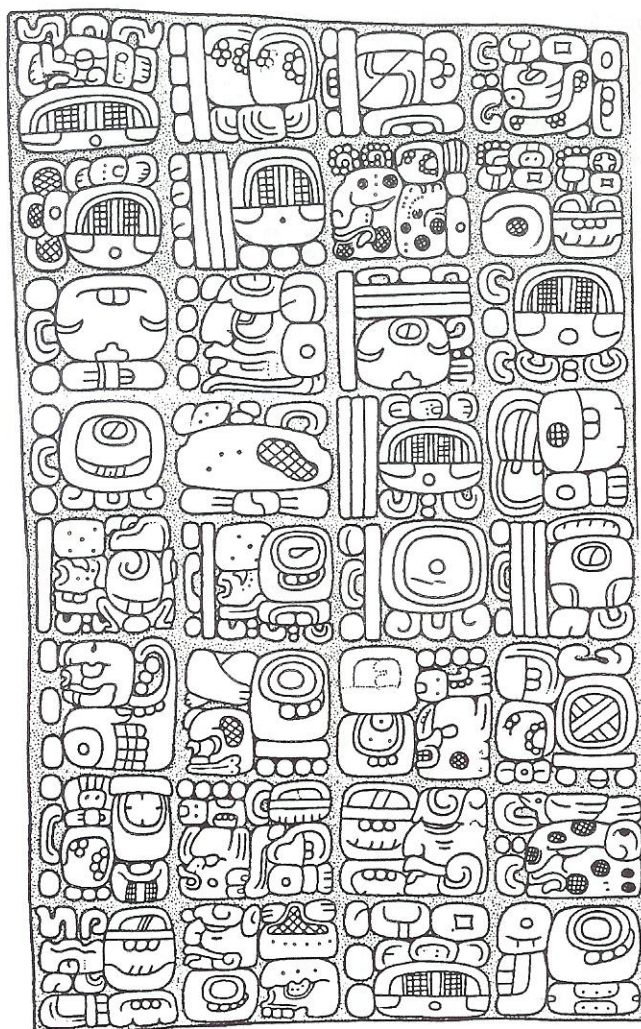
(On) 6 Ix 12 Yaxk'in he died
"Shell-fist lord," Five K'atun Lord
Shield-Jaguar, Captor of Ah Ahawal

It's change was 6 days, 10 tuns

count until 11 Ahaw 8 Tz'ek
he was seated as *ahpo*
"Sky god lord," Bat-Jaguar
Lord of Yaxchilan, *Bakab*

Proskouriakoff believed the Bat-Jaguar glyph in this text to name Bird-Jaguar. Nikolai Grube has suggested that the bat reads *xu* in the name Yaxun-Balam. A *yaxun* is a small bird of prophecy mentioned in the books of Chilam Balam.

Yaxchilan Lintel 21, the last text to be discussed, links the dedication of Structure 22 by Bird-Jaguar to its dedication 297 years earlier by the seventh successor. The first clause opens with the date 9.0.19.2.4 2 Kan 2 Yax, written in a Long Count notation with the Lord of the Night and the



Lintel 21

age of the moon given. The verbal phrase is recorded at A7a-B7, followed by the subject, the Early Classic ruler Moon-Skull, who is named as the 7th successor of Yat-Balam, the founder of the dynasty here and on Lintel 49. A DN then records the time between this dedication and its reenactment by Bird-Jaguar nine days after his accession. This text is paraphrased as follows:

(On) 9.0.19.2.4 2 Kan

G8 ruled, Glyph Y

7 days ago it arrived (the moon)

Three moons had ended.

3X [was the name] of the 29.

2 Yax he dedicated the 4-bat place;
it was his house

"sky god lord," Moon-Skull,
the 7th successor, the lord of title,
Yat-Balam, Ch'ul Ahaw of Yaxchilan

(it was) 5 days, 16 uinals, 1 tun, 15 k'atuns
and then it happened 7 Muluk 17 Tz'ek
he dedicated the 4-bat place
"sky god lord," Bird-Jaguar, 3 K'atun Lord
He of 20 Captives

This text reinforces the importance of Bird-Jaguar's act by associating it with the same event in the life of a distant ancestor and by emphasizing the continuity of these events in time. Stela 12 sanctifies Bird-Jaguar's accession by linking it

with the death of his father; it stands next to Stela 11 which twice records Bird-Jaguar's accession with Initial Series dates and in highly elaborated style. The Structure 10 inscription focuses on the last event (perhaps the dedication of the building), but that event is placed within the continuity of Bird-Jaguar's life by linking it with his death and accession. All these linkages serve to provide a framework for historical action and to reinforce Bird-Jaguar's legitimacy as ruler of Yaxchilan.

The Contents and Character of the Classic Maya Inscriptions

Berlin's article on emblem glyphs (1958) and those of Proskouriakoff on Piedras Negras (1960) and Yaxchilan (1963-64) were pivotal to the study of Maya hieroglyphic writing because they demonstrated with indisputable argument that monumental inscriptions are primarily historical in content. As their methods of analysis have been applied to other inscriptions, it has become clear that the contents of the public inscriptions are remarkably limited and focus almost exclusively on dynastic events, such as birth, heir-designation, accession, death, war, capture, etc. There are still a large number of event glyphs not yet understood, but newly deciphered ones seem to be invariably dynastic, although they may include other kinds of data. For instance, we now know that a large number of war and sacrificial rites were enacted on a schedule linked to major stations of Venus and Jupiter, but the texts recording these events do not focus on astronomy as a science, but on the historical and ritual events that occurred in association with these astronomical periods. In addition, the monumental inscriptions are remarkably redundant; the same events are repeatedly recorded in slightly varied forms or emphasizing different qualities of the event.

The particular texts presented in the previous sections are typical of the kind of redundancy we have found. The accession of Bird-Jaguar is recorded on the side of Stela 11 and in the front lower register. The side texts use an Initial Series date, the Lord of the Night, the age of the Moon, the 819-day-count station, the *hok'* expression for "accession," and *ahawel* as the office. The front

text uses an IS date, the Lord of the Night, age of the moon, and the *hok'* verb with personified *ti* and *ahawel* as the office, but it also extends Bird-Jaguar's name phrase to include his genealogy, information redundantly reinforced by placing portraits of his parents in the upper registers on the front and back of Stela 11. This monument stood in front of Structure 40, adjacent to Stela 12, which again records his accession, but this time linked by a DN to the death of his father Shield-Jaguar and recorded with the T644 *chumwan* "seating" verb and *ahawel* as the office.

The scene on the front of Stela 11 shows Bird-Jaguar and Shield-Jaguar dancing with cloth staffs shortly before Shield-Jaguar's death. Lintel 33 records the re-enactment of this cloth-staff rite exactly six haabs after the Stela 11 event, and after Shield-Jaguar's death, but before Bird-Jaguar's accession. Lintel 33 was located in Structure 13, immediately adjacent to Structure 10, housing Lintels 29, 30, and 31. These three lintels again record Bird-Jaguar's accession, linked by DN to his birth and two undeciphered events occurring on the oxlahuntun of K'atun 16.

Bird-Jaguar's accession is again recorded on Lintel 1 in Structure 33, perhaps Bird-Jaguar's most important building. Here the event is shown as a dance with the God K scepter and written in a progressive *ti* construction featuring T670 "to receive" as the verbal noun. Lintel 3 records the same event and verbal phrase again, but on a date four years after the accession on the occasion of a hotun ending. Centered between these two lintels, Lintel 2 records the rites celebrated on the occasion of the fifth tun anniversary of Bird-jaguar's accession. The scene shows Bird-Jaguar and his son Shield-Jaguar II dancing with "tree" scepters.

The same "tree" scepter rite is shown on Lintel 5 on the date 9.16.1.2.0 12 Ahaw 8 Yaxk'in. The same date is featured on Lintel 42, from a building at the opposite end of the site, but the scene shows the God K scepter event, instead of the "bird" scepter rite. On Lintel 5, Bird-Jaguar stands with a woman holding a bundle, while on Lintel 42, he stands with Kan-Tah, the male who appears on Lintel 8 as his battle companion. We could interpret this change of verb, rite, and actors either as a records of unrelated events that happened to occur on the same day, or as differ-

ent, but complementary records of the same event or ritual (as in the different records of Bird-Jaguar's accession rites). This latter assumption is supported by Lintels 6 and 43, which also record differing scenes of events occurring on the same day. As in the previous pair of scenes, the actors are different--Bird-Jaguar and Kan-Tah on Lintel 6 and Bird-Jaguar and Lady Balam on Lintel 43. However, in this pair of lintels Bird-Jaguar holds the same object and the verbal phrases are the same. The use of two sets of lintels allows the scribe to record different kinds of information about the same ritual action, especially when the ritual is complex or involves different phases or many important persons. By comparing these kinds of multiple records, we can begin to reconstruct ritual sequences and to understand the kinds of actions that were needed to sanctify the transfer and exercise of power. The chapter on Yaxchilan in *A Forest of Kings* demonstrates how the study of these patterns allow us to reconstruct and interpret history from the raw material of events and dates.

The redundancy and limited contents of the Yaxchilan inscriptions also characterizes the inscriptions of other sites. At Palenque, single events are recorded as many as ten times in the texts of the Group of the Cross. The longest readable text surviving from the Classic period, the panels of the Temple of Inscriptions at Palenque, is remarkably repetitive and its contents restricted. The first two and one-third panels record a k'atun history, possibly the proto-type to the *Chilam Balam* histories, of K'atuns 4 through 13. The middle third of the west panel is not yet understood, but it appears to record supernatural/cosmological events during the lifetime of the protagonist Pakal, and the last third of the text records the accession and death of Pakal's wife, his death, and the accession of his son. The Temple of Inscriptions at Tikal, according to Jones (1977), records the same kind of dynastic sequence and k'atun history as the Palenque text, but it begins in Bak'tun 7 (Olmec times). The hieroglyphic stairs at Copan again records the same kind of information, but to captures and sacrificial rites in the history of Copan.

With rare exception, the stelae of Tikal record the same kind of events throughout the history of

the site. The most frequently recorded events are period ending rite, often linked by DN to some important event in the ruler's life, such as accession. Birth and death events are not found in these texts. The lintels of the Temple focus on sacrificial rites with special concentration on ancestral rites and the afterlife.

Almost all surviving texts from the Classic period are from the public domain and were erected as a part of the process that documented the history and legitimate rights of the dynasties of local sites. Very often, as at Yaxchilan and Tikal, the history as presented publicly was limited to the significant events in the lives of the rulers and the placement of these events into the continuity of history at that site; in other words, delineating the linkage between the lives of contemporary rulers and their historical and supernatural forebears. At some sites, such as Palenque and Tikal, this public history was extended to include legendary and mythical time. Tikal declares that its lineage began in -1142 and Palenque rulers extended this continuity to include both past and future mythological time, and the actions of historical rulers were linked to identical action of supernatural or to cosmological/astronomical events. The function of these texts both at Tikal and Palenque was not to record religious myths, but to demonstrate supernatural sanction for the living rulers who commissioned them.

This overwhelming concentration on dynastic documentation and its supernatural and historical sanctions may result from the fact that only the public inscriptions have survived. We do not have the books. Less public documents, which must have existed to document detailed histories and genealogies (such as in the Mixtec codices), tribute records, trade and commerce, prescriptions for rituals, etc., have not survived. The great majority of texts surviving from the Classic period are of three types: (1) those placed in public space and in or on public buildings; (2) those on portable objects used in ritual and dress; and (3) those in tombs and caches, usually on pottery, but also in the form of wall murals. Obviously, this sample is biased, but at the same time, it gives us a record of those rituals, information, and beliefs that were successfully used to perpetuate social order and ex-

plain their place in the cosmos. In *A Forest of Kings: the Untold Story of the Ancient Maya*, David Freidel and I have tried to illustrate how these kinds of data can be used to reconstruct history.

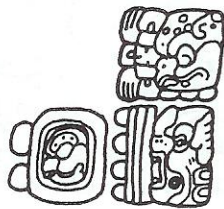
Deletion, Gapping, and Couplet Structures

The texts given previously as examples of multiple clause structure were chosen because each of the constituent clauses are complete, containing a date, verb and subject. However, like all languages, it is not required that all parts of a clause be retained in every context; redundant informa-

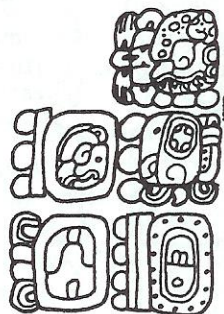
tion can be deleted and independent clauses linked into compound structures, as in the English sentence "He turned the key and started the car." The most frequent kind of deletion occurs in texts that repeat an event as the base of a new count of days. Redundant information can also be deleted when two verbal phrases having the same subject are used within one clause structure; in this context, the subject need be recorded only once. The following passage illustrates these kinds of deletion.

The passage from Palenque records three events in two clauses. In the first clause, Chan-Bahlam's birth is linked to his accession by DN. If both

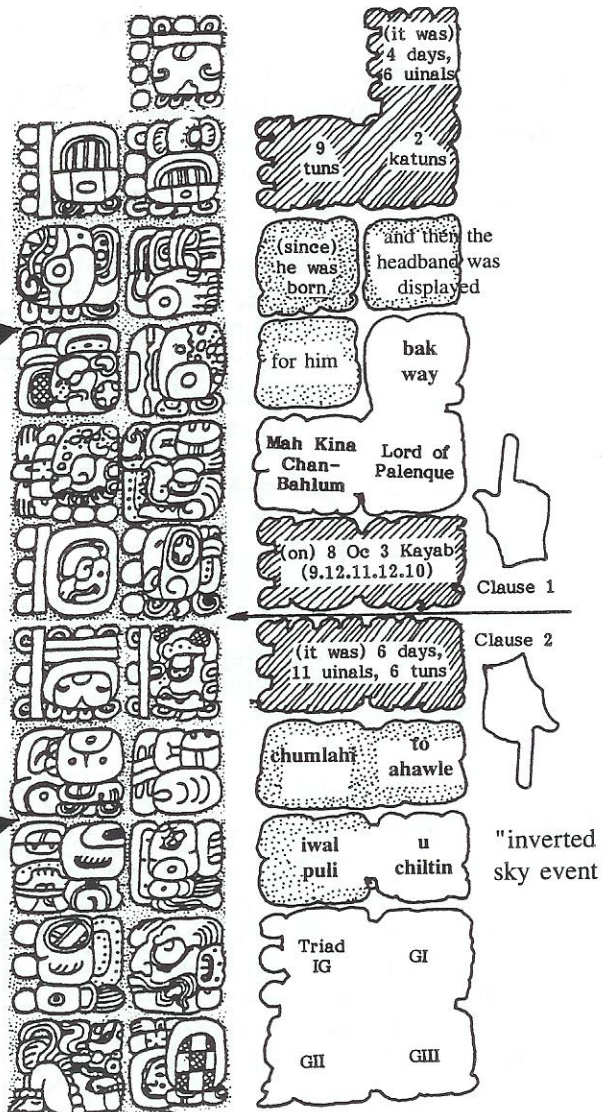
Information deleted from Clause 1.
Subject of birth: Chan-Bahlum
Date of birth:
2 Cimi 19 Zotz' (9.10.2.6.6)



Information deleted from Clause 2.
Subject of seating: Chan-Bahlum
Date of seating:
8 Oc 3 Kayab (9.12.11.12.10)
Date of "inverted sky":
2 Cib 14 Mol (9.12.18.5.16)

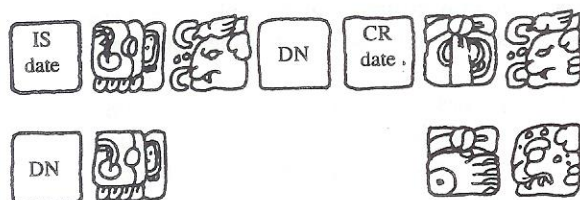


Palenque Tablet of the Foliated Cross



events were recorded in a independent clause with the full specification of data, it would record the date of the birth, the birth verb, and its subject, as in the passage from Lintel 30 previously discussed. Accession would follow the DN and include date, verb, and subject. In this passage, however, the date of birth and the name of who is

Yaxchilan Lintel 29-31



Palenque TFC

born are deleted; the chart below compares the syntax of the Yaxchilan and Palenque clauses. The information in both passages is fully transferred without ambiguity, but the Palenque passage has deleted redundant information.

The second clause in the Tablet of the Foliated Cross text begins with a restatement of the accession event in the clause above, but since the subject of that accession has just been named, there is no need to record it again. Instead of recording "DN verb¹ subject¹ date¹ verb² subject² date²," the structure is "DN verb¹ verb² subject²." Note that in this second clause, the subjects of the two verbs are different; yet their identities are clear from the context. This clarity of information seemed to be the factor controlling these kinds of structures and the patterns of gapping. As long as the deleted information can be reconstructed from the context, any pattern of deletion and gapping within the syntactical possibilities of Maya languages is acceptable.

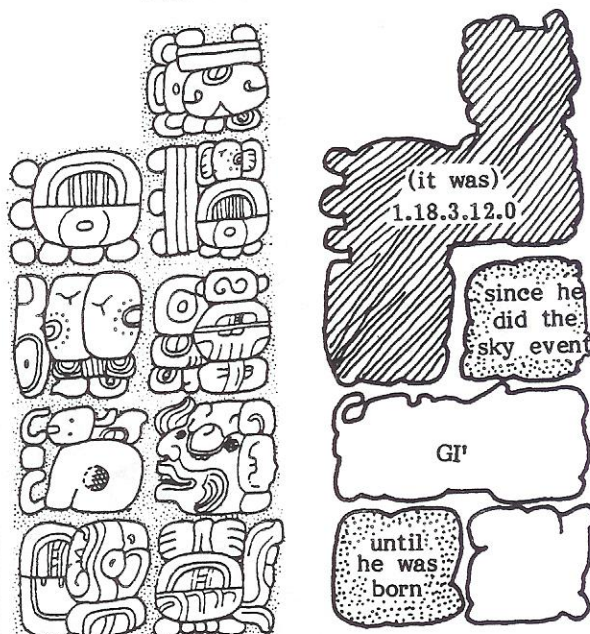
Deletion and Couplet Structures

Floyd Lounsbury was the first to recognize couplet structures in the Classic inscriptions. A couplet consists of paired clauses relating the same information in slightly altered and often contrasting forms. The prominence of couplet structures in Maya oral traditions and paired oppositions in Maya languages was documented, and Edmonson had identified the couplet as a major form in the

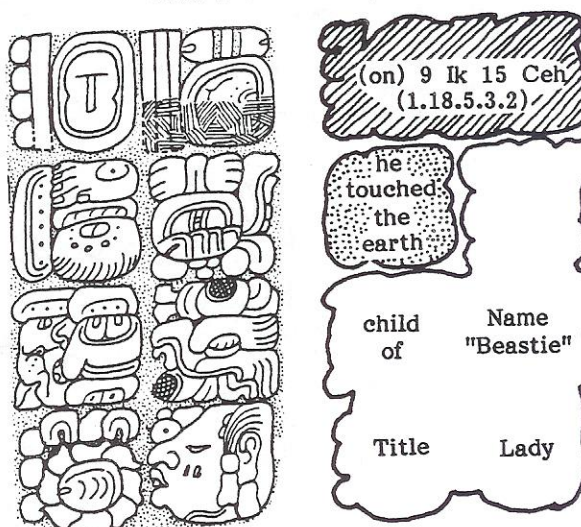
Popol Vuh. Lounsbury's analysis of the calendric data and syntax in the Tablet of the Cross provided the first indisputable evidence of couplet structures in the inscriptions.

In the illustrated passage, each clause begins with arithmetic information that was the clue to the analysis. In the first clause, a DN is counted from the event recorded in the previous passage to

Part 1 of the couplet



Part 2 of the couplet



Palenque Tablet of the Cross

the date of the event featured in this clause. The arithmetic is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 = 13. 0. 1. 9. 213 \text{ Ik'end of Mol} \\
 = \underline{1.18. 3.12. 0} \\
 = 1.18. 5. 3. 29 \text{ Ik'15 Keh}
 \end{array}$$

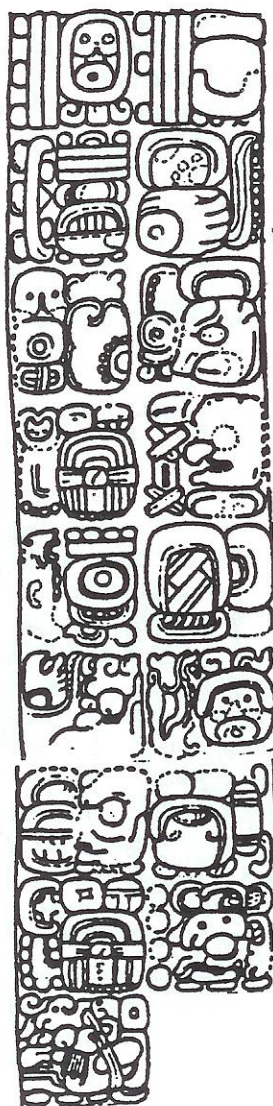
Neither date is explicitly recorded, but the DN is followed by a restatement of the verb and subject of the earlier event. The clause ends with a statement of the featured event "birth" and its subject. The birth is marked with the PEI so that the temporal relationship between the two events is not subject to misinterpretation. The count is from the earlier "sky event," enacted by GI until the birth.

The second clause begins with the CR 9 Ik' 15 Keh, the later of the two dates implied in the previous clause. In other words, the two clauses relate events that occur on the same day. The first clause tells us how many days this date was after the previously recorded event; the second gives us the name of that day. The CR specification is followed by a verb and its subject. The verb is different, but the glyph naming the subject is the same as that in the first clause. However, in the second clause we get the additional information that he is the "child of Lady Beastie." Since the date and subject is the same, the verbs ought to record the same event. Lounsbury found that in modern Chol a metaphor *il pañimil* "to see the world" is used as the term for "birth." Other senses, such as touch, can be used in this metaphor as well as the verb "to experience." The glyph in the second part of the couplet is composed of a possessive pronoun preceding a hand touching the phonetic combination *ka-b(a)* "earth." The glyph apparently reads "he touched the earth (or world)," the Classic version of the metaphor used by Chol speakers today. The verbs in both halves of the couplet are semantically equivalent; they both record a term for "birth."

The recognition of couplet structures and the use of deletion and gapping proved to be extremely useful in deciphering individual glyphs, in syntactical analysis, and in identifying structurally equivalent phrases. The usefulness of these technique are particularly well illustrated in two Late Classic texts from Tikal. The text on Stela 22 is composed of two clauses arranged in a couplet with

the second clause repeating information in the first. The text begins with a statement of the date 13 Ahau 18 Kum' u, specifying that the CR corresponds to the 17th k'atun. The verb is "he ended the tun" with the subject named as Ruler C. His name phrase includes a lengthy series of titles, including his designation as "the 29th successor" and as the "child of Ruler B." The first clause concludes with the name and title phrases of Ruler B.

The second clause opens with a DN of 2.1.16 and an earlier CR 11 Kan 12 K'ayab (9.16.17.-16.4). The event that occurred on this date is recorded as "was seated as *batab*," but the subject is not named. This verb is marked by the AEI and



13 Ahau 18 Cumku (9.17.0.0.0)	
the 17th katun	he ended the tun
Ruler C	
Lord of Tikal	title
the 28th	successor
title	child of (father)
Ruler B	Naab- Uinic Mah Kina
Lord of Tikal	4 katun
batab	

followed by the "scattering" verb with an infixed PEI and a deleted subject. The temporal relationship between the two verbs is, therefore, specified with the "seating" marked as the earlier of the two events; it must correspond to the earlier of the two dates. The "scattering" verb is a pictograph of the action shown in the scene; the monument was carved and erected to show the ruler engaged in this rite. Since only two dates are recorded and since we know that the earlier of these dates is the day of the ruler's accession, the "scattering" rite has to have occurred on the second date. It is the ritual celebrating the end of K'atun 17. The first clause names the date of the monument and tells us it was a period ending and that the person who ended the k'atun was Ruler C. The second clause reiterates the first by telling us that the period ending occurred two years after Ruler C's accession, and that he ended the k'atun with a "scattering" rite, which we now know to be an act of "blood-letting." The pictorial information given as a parallel set of data shows Ruler C at the instant he scatters the blood. The text is paraphrased as follows:

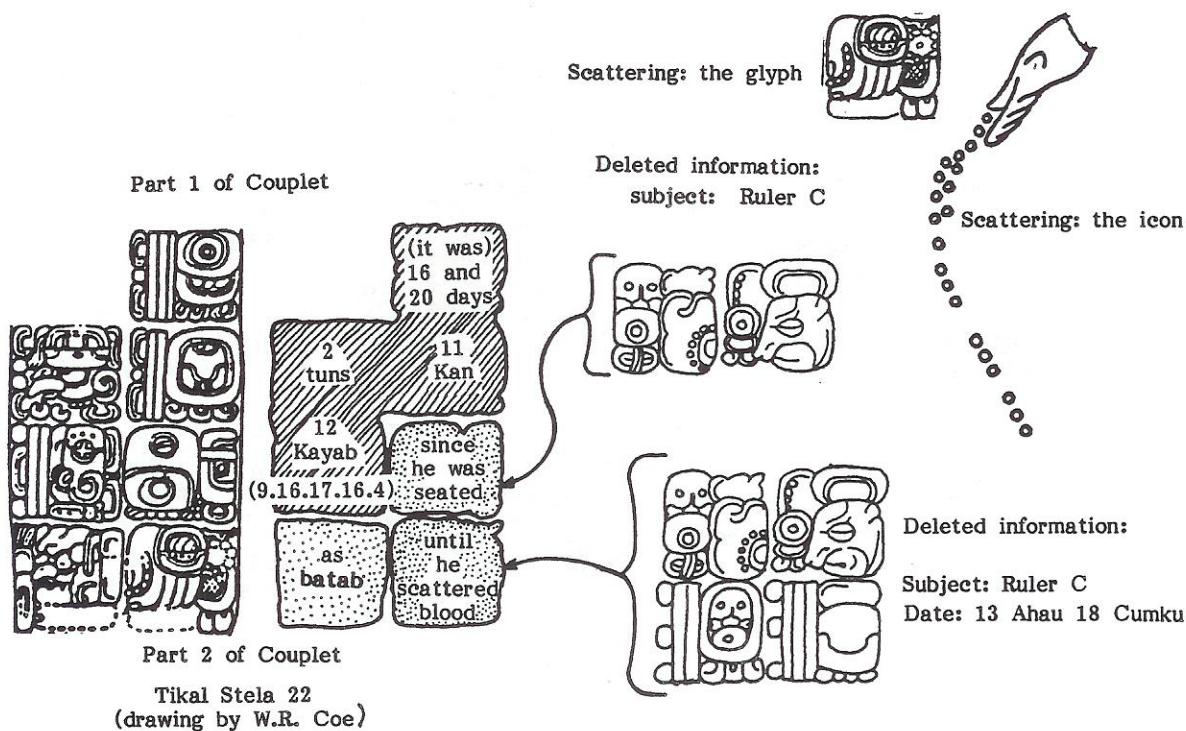
(On) 13 Ahaw 18 Kumk'u the 17th k'atun
He ended the tun Ruler C

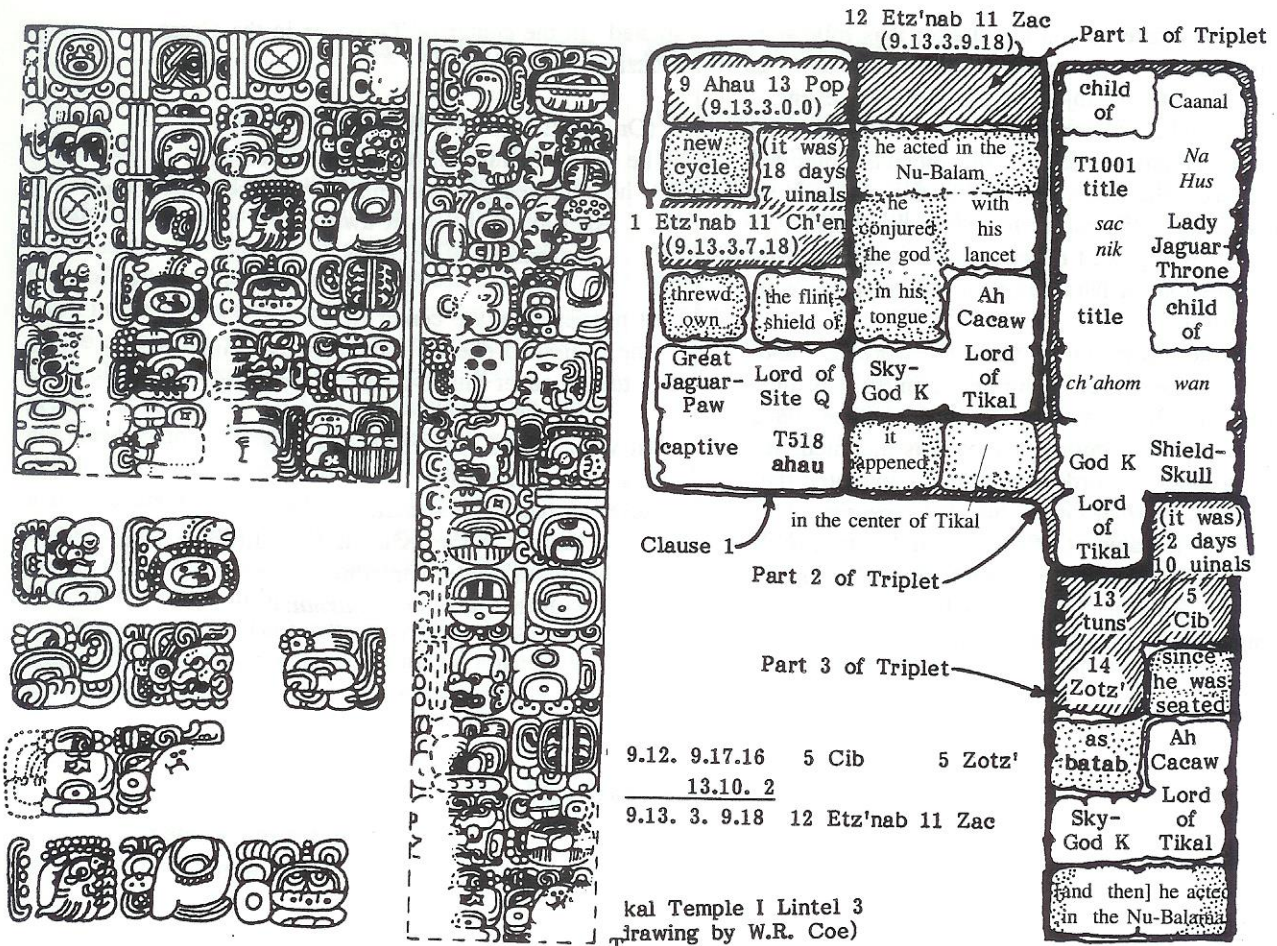
Lord of Tikal, the 29th successor
The child of Ruler B
Nab-Winik Mah K'ina
Lord of Tikal, 4 K'atun *Batab*

(It was) 16 and 20 days, 2 tuns
Since he was seated as *batab*
until he scattered his blood.

The second Tikal text is from Lintel 3 of Temple I, a text that looked impossibly complex until I realized that the most of the glyphs refer to a single event, recorded in three parallel clauses. The entire text consists of four clauses, the first of which records a base date, 9.13.3.0.0, and a war event in which Jaguar-Paw of Site Q apparently was captured. [1991 addition: Nikolai Grube has read the verb as *hub u tok'-pakal*, was thrown-down the flint-shield of Jaguar-Paw.]

The remainder of the text, C1-F12, records a single event--the celebration of the 13th k'atun anniversary of the last date on Stela 31 forty days after the throwing down of the flint-shield. The event phrase in the first clause recording this anniversary ritual includes two verbal expressions--T174:565 verb + a prepositional phrase and "fish-





in-hand" blood-letting. The subject of both verbs is recorded as Ruler A in a three glyph phrase that includes his personal name, a "sky-God K" glyph, and the Tikal emblem glyph.

In previous analyses of this text, I had not realized that a second clause begins at C6 with a verb. Previously, I had taken this glyph to be the T74:528.515 title appearing at E10, but the suffix is clearly T116 and the superfix is T79, a glyph associated with anniversary events at Palenque, Tikal, and Copan. I now believe the suffix to be part of the T130.116 *-wan*, known to mark positional verbs in the inscriptions. The damaged glyph below T79 seems to be T565 *ta*, which in combination with T79 functions to record anniversary rituals at Copan. I suspect the verb is a direct substitution for the T174.565 verb at C2.

The glyph following the verb consists of T606, a half-darkened sign with an infixed *k'in*, and the

main sign of the Tikal emblem glyph. A similar sign is associated with an anniversary verb on Lintel 3 of Temple IV at Tikal, but even more importantly an almost identical glyph is associated with a "fish-in-hand" verb on Yaxchilan Lintel 25. However, the Yaxchilan glyph has "water-lily" instead of the *k'in* variant, and the main sign of the Yaxchilan emblem glyph instead of that of Tikal. This glyph apparently specifies some important condition of the blood-letting rite.

The agent of this second clause is named with the T606 glyph at E1, a possessed noun best paraphrased as "the child of." The agent of the anniversary event is "the child of Lady Jaguar-Throne and of Shield-Skull, Lord of Tikal." Chris Jones has already identified this child as Ruler A.

The third clause once again reiterates the anniversary event, this time in association with Ruler A's accession. A DN leading from the accession to the

anniversary date begins the clause; it is followed by the date of the accession, "was seated as *batab*¹," and the subject of the accession event, Ruler A. The anniversary event is recorded in the last two glyphs of the text; the subject, Ruler A, is deleted. The featured event of this clause is not the accession, but rather it is the anniversary ritual, which is placed in temporal association with the accession. A paraphrase of this triplet structure is as follows:

[1991 addition: during the 1990 workshop and after, we discovered many new things about these verbs: The first phrase refers to the jaguar guardian and the palanquin to which it is mounted. It very probably records that Ruler A mounted the palanquin. Nikolai Grube has just recently found the phonetic value of "fish-in-hand." It is *tzak*, "to conjure gods and spirits." Here, it read *u tzak k'u tu ch'am ti yak'il*, "he conjured god with a lancet in his tongue. And finally, that all of this hap-

pened "in the center of Tikal" or in the Great Plaza.

(On) 12 Etz'nab 11 Sak
he did something in the nu balam chaknal
he conjured god with his harvest from his tongue
Ah Kakaw, Ka'an-K'awil
Holy Lord of Tikal

It happened in the center of Tikal
the cherished one of Lady Jaguar-Throne
the blood of Shield-Skull, Holy Lord of Tikal

(it was) 2 days, 10 winals, 13 tuns
(on) 5 Kan 14 Zotz'
after he had been seated as *batab*
Ah Kakaw, Ka'an-K'awil, Holy Lord of Tikal
and then he did something
with the nu balam chaknal.

A Note on Orthography

by Peter Mathews

The field of Maya studies, and especially the field of Maya epigraphy is currently undergoing a transformation in several ways, at least one of which is going to be a little painful: the conventions of orthography. When the Spanish priests arrived in the Maya area in the 16th century and began to record the various Mayan languages in the Latin alphabet, they encountered several phonemes, or sounds in the Mayan languages that did not correspond to Spanish phonemes and yet which were distinctive in Mayan. In the grammars, vocabularies, catechisms and other writings in and on the Mayan languages, therefore, the priests adopted several symbols for the phonemes that did not occur in Spanish.

Recently, it has been generally agreed to standardize Mayan orthographies. The major impetus towards this decision was given by contemporary

Maya groups who are writing in their own languages. Many Maya epigraphers have decided to conform to the new orthography, partly for the sake of consistency but mainly out of a sense of solidarity. Ultimately this will result in an easier-to-understand orthography. However, for those used to a particular orthography, for example Yucatec Mayan, the transition period will be somewhat painful. "*Kukulcan*" in the old Yucatec orthography, for example, will become *K'uk'ulkan* in the new, and the month "*Cumku*" will become *Kumk'u*.

For some, the new orthography will perhaps seem especially strange when dealing with calendrical terms: the names of the Maya time periods, and the Maya day and month names. Below I present a concordance of these terms. I include the names most probably used by Ch'ol Mayan speakers during the Classic Period.

The Day Names

<i>New orthography</i>	<i>16th C. Yucatec</i>	<i>Classical Ch'ol</i>
Imix	Imix	Imox(?)
Ik'	Ik	Ik'
Ak'bal	Akbal	Ak'bal
K'an	Kan	K'an
Chikchan	Chicchan	Chikchan
Kimi	Cimi	Kimi
Manik'	Manik	Manich'
Lamat	Lamat	Lamat
Muluk	Muluc	Buluch(?)
Ok	Oc	Ok
Chuwen	Chuen	Batz'
Eb	Eb	Eb
Ben	Ben	Ben(?)
Ix	Ix	Hix
Men	Men	Men(?)
Kib	Cib	Kib
Kaban	Caban	Kaban
Etz'nab	Etz'nab	Etz'nab
Kawak	Cauac	Chahk
Ahaw	Ahau	Ahaw

The Month Names

Pohp	Pop	K'anhalaw
Wo	Uo	Ik'-k'at
Sip	Zip	Chak-k'at
Sotz'	Zotz'	Sutz'
Tzek	Tzec	Kasew
Xul	Xul	Chichin
Yaxk'in	Yaxkin	Yaxk'in
Mol	Mol	Mol
Ch'en	Ch'en	Ik'
Yax	Yax	Yax
Sak	Zac	Sak
Keh	Ceh	Chak
Mak	Mac	Mak
K'ank'in	Kankin	Uniw
Muwan	Muan	Muwan
Pax	Pax	Ah K'ik'u
K'ayab	Kayab	K'anasi
Kumk'u	Cumku	Ol
(wayeb)	(uayeb)	(wayeb ?)

The Period Names

k'in	kin	k'in
winal	uinal	winik
tun	tun	tun
k'atun	katun	k'atun
bak'tun	baktun"	bak'tun

Maya Dates

by Peter Mathews

To the beginner, Maya dates seem very daunting. Often they take up a large part of the text, and seem to record a particular day in many different, and confusing, ways. Basically, Maya dates have two main components. One records linear time, by giving a count of the number of days that have elapsed since the beginning of the Maya calendar. This is called the *Long Count*. The second main component records cyclical time: the date is recorded by giving its position in two different

calendrical cycles this is called the *Calendar Round*.

There are analogies in our own calendar to these components: in a date such as Friday, October 27, 1990, the "1990" records the number of years that have elapsed since the beginning of the Christian era, and "Friday" and "October 27" record the days position in each of two cyclical calendars, one a cycle of 7 days, called a week, and the other a cycle of 365 or 366 days, called a year. In the Maya calendar, the two cycles that make up the Calendar Round are called by modern Mayan-

ists the *Tzolk'in* and the *Haab*. The *Tzolk'in* is a cycle of 260 days, made up of the permutation of 13 numbers (1-13) with twenty named days.

The *haab* is a vague solar year of 365 days, made up of 18 named "months" of 20 days each, plus 5 days added on at the end of the year. The Maya did not intercalate leapyear daysevery *haab* lasted 365 days. By convention, the 16th century Yucatec Maya names for the 20 days and 18 months are used by Mayanists, even though we now know that they were not the terms used in the majority of Classic Maya sites.

The first day of the *Tzolk'in* is "1 Imix". The next day is "2 Ik'", the next "3 Ak'bal", and so on, until after 260 different combinations "1 Imix" occurs again.

The *Haab* calendar operates slightly differently. Each "month" stays in place for twenty successive days (much as our months stay in place for 31, or 30, or 29, or 28 days, as the case may be). The first Maya month is Pohp, so the day after "1 Pohp" is "2 Pohp", then "3 Pohp", and so on, until after 365 days "1 Pohp" reoccurs. The beginning of the month was called the "seating" of the month, sometimes written "0 Pohp", and after 19 days ("19 Pohp") Pohp would be ended and the next month seated. This changeover could be recorded either "end of Pohp" or "seating of Wo".

A *Calendar Round* date recorded a particular date by giving both its *Tzolk'in* and *Haab* positions. "8 Ahau 13 Pohp" is an example of a *Calendar Round* date. The following day would be "9 Imix 14 Pohp", followed by "10 Ik' 15 Pohp", and so on. Since 260 and 365 have a common factor of 5, the minimal time it takes for a particular *Calendar Round* date (such as "8 Ahau 13 Pohp") to repeat is $260 \times 365 - 5$, or 18,980 days, or 52×365 days. This is the so-called "52-year cycle" of Mesoamericaactually a cycle of 52 *haabs*, or years of 365 days.

The *Long Count* calendar of the Maya records time elapsed since the beginning of the Maya era, as was said above. Unlike our linear-time calendar, which records only years, the Maya Long Count counted the days that had elapsed. A typical Maya Long Count date is conventionally transcribed in the form of five numbers, each separated by a ".": an example would be the date "9.18.12.14.17". In such a notation, which in-

volves a place-value system, the "17" records units of days (called *k'ins* in Maya), i.e. 17 days. The "14" records 20-day periods (called *uinals* or *winals*), in this case $14 \times 20 = 280$ days. The "12" records units of $18 \times 20 = 360$ days: in this case 12×360 , or 4,320 days. The 360-day units, called *tuns* by the Maya, were the basic computing unit for Maya historical time: apparently it was chosen because it was close to the length of the solar year. The "18" in the example above refers to *k'atuns*: these were periods of 20 *tuns*, or 7,200 days, eachin the case above, $18 \times 7,200 = 129,600$ days. Finally, the "9" refers to "*bak'tuns*", or periods of 400 *tuns* or 144,000 days, in the case above $9 \times 144,000 = 1,296,000$ days.

In other words, the Long Count records multiples of five time periods in decreasing magnitude. In the case above, the numbers are:

9 <i>bak'tuns</i>	9 x 144,000 =	1,296,000 days
18 <i>k'atuns</i>	18 x 7,200 =	129,600 days
12 <i>tuns</i>	12 x 360 =	4,320 days
14 <i>winals</i>	14 x 20 =	280 days
17 <i>k'ins</i>	17 x 1 =	17 days
total		1,430,217 days

elapsed since the beginning of the Maya era.

We know that the beginning of the Maya calendar was the day "4 Ahaw 8 Kumk'u" in *Calendar Round* notation; this date in full was recorded as "13.0.0.0.0 4 Ahaw 8 Kumk'u". In the Thompson correlation (the most popular but by no means universally accepted correlation between the Maya and Christian calendars), this date is August 12, 3114 B.C. Most of the historically-recorded Maya dates begin with either 8, 9, or 10 as their *bak'tun* coefficient, and fall some 3300 to 4000 years after 4 Ahaw 8 Kumk'u, or between ca. A.D.250-900.

Maya dates can be recorded in a variety of ways. The fullest version is an "*Initial Series*" date. This type of record is so-called because it usually begins a text, and therefore is the initial date in the texts. *Initial Series* dates record all the time period glyphs (i.e. they spell out the Long Count date), and also the *Calendar Round* position of the date. Very often, they also give additional information, in the form of (1) the position reached in yet another calendrical cycle, of 9 days (the so-called Glyphs G and F), (2) lunar informa-

tion (the age of the current lunation, the number of the current lunation, the name of the current lunation, and the number of days in the current lunation (Glyphs E, D, C, X, B and A). All this information, often collectively called the "Lunar Series" or "Supplementary Series", usually follows the Long Count and Calendar Round information in the Initial Series date. In a few Initial Series dates another piece of information can be added: the record of yet another calendrical cycle this one of 819 days. In this case, however, the position *within* the 819-day cycle is not recorded, but rather the previous 819-day count "station". This station will be linked to the Initial Series date by a short *Distance Number*, which records the interval of days, months, etc. between the Initial Series date and the 819-day count station.






























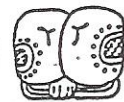















The Initial Series date gives the Long Count position of the date. In long texts, the dates that follow will usually not record the Long Count, because they are invariably linked to the initial date by Distance Numbers. Again, we have no good analogy in our own calendar, but it would be as if we were to say "October 2, 1990 plus 25 days reaches October 27". The "1990" of the second date can be worked out from the information provided, and so is redundant. Similarly in Maya dates, if the Long Count position of one date in a text is known, and if there are "Distance Numbers" linking that date to others, then the Long Count can be calculated and does not need to be recorded every time. Therefore most dates following the Initial Series date in a text are recorded only by a Calendar Round date.

Sometimes, however, a Calendar Round date will be accompanied by another glyph or glyphs that give a partial clue as to the Long Count position of the date. These glyphs are usually called *Period-ending* glyphs: they generally record the completion of one of the larger time periods (tuns, k'atuns or bak'tuns, or subdivisions or groupings of them). A record such as "12 Ahaw 3 Ch'en, end of a tun" says that the Calendar Round date is 12 Ahaw 3 Ch'en, and that the Long Count position of the date ends records only tunsthat no winals or k'ins are involved. The *only* Long Count position that satisfies all these conditions and that is within the Maya Classic period is 9.11.13.0.0 12 Ahaw 3 Ch'en. It would take over 540 years





























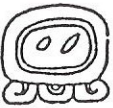





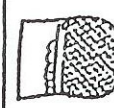





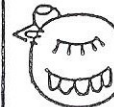
for the date 12 Ahaw 3 Ch'en to recur as a tun-ending date. Another example: often the date 9.14.0.0.0 6 Ahaw 13 Muwan will be recorded simply as "6 Ahaw 13 Muwan, end of 14 k'atuns". These tun- and k'atun-ending notations are a kind of shorthand notation for Maya dates: they give clues as to the Long Count position of the date concerned, without spelling out all of the Long Count periods in "Initial Series" form. In the accompanying pages I include a list of all tun-ending dates during the Classic Period, as a guide for this very important category of Maya dates.

Finally, I should make a few comments on *Distance Numbers*, mentioned in passing above. Distance Numbers are the intervals between dates, and as such are usually crucial in establishing the Long Count position of dates that follow an Initial Series in any lengthy text. Distance Numbers are always recorded in reverse order from that of Initial Series dates: first comes the record of k'ins, then winals, then tuns and k'atuns and so on. Most commonly, the k'in and winal coefficients are combined in the one glyph, where they are both affixed to the winal sign, with the k'in coefficient on the left, and the winal coefficient above.

Often, Distance Numbers are introduced by a special glyph, called (not surprisingly) the Distance Number Introductory Glyph. Distance Numbers are also often followed by one of two glyphs, that J. Eric S. Thompson called the "Anterior Date Indicator" and "Posterior Date Indicator", because they preceded an earlier date and a later date, respectively. It is now recognized that the two glyphs are merely inflections of the verb *ut*, 'to happen, to come to pass'. The "Anterior Date Indicator" reads *uti*, "it had come to pass"; the "Posterior Date Indicator" reads *ival ut*, "and then it happened". The decipherment of these glyphs well shows how many individuals are usually instrumental in decipherment breakthroughs. Thompson first worked out the context of these glyphs and their temporal significance in the 1940's. In the 1980's, John Justeson, William Norman, Linda Schele, David Stuart, Kathryn Josserand, Nicholas Hopkins, Terrence Kaufman and Bean Leaf (4 of them linguists, the other 4 epigraphers) all contributed to the reading of these glyphs.

PERIOD	"GEOMETRIC" FORMS	HEAD VARIANTS	CODICES
K'IN (kin)	 	  	
WINAL (uinal)	  	   	
TUN (tun)	 	   	
K'ATUN (katun)	 	   	
BAK'TUN ("baktun")	  	   	
PIKTUN ("pictun")	  		
KALABTUN ("calabtun")	 		
K'INCHILTUN ("kinchiltun")			







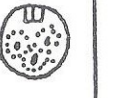







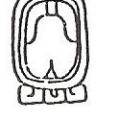























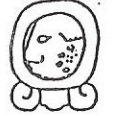

















Maya dates: the Period glyphs.

DAY	MONUMENTS	CODICES	LANDA
IMIX (Imix)	   		 
IK' (Ik)	   	  	
AK'BAL (Akbal)	 	  	
K'AN (Kan)	  	 	
CHIKCHAN (Chicchan)	   	  	
KIMI (Cimi)	 	  	

Maya dates: the Day names, Imix through Kimi

MANIK' (Manik)					
LAMAT (Lamat)					
MULUK (Muluc)					
OK (Oc)					
CHUWEN (Chuen)					
EB (Eb)					
BEN (Ben)					















































Maya dates: the Day names, Manik' through Ben





IX (Ix)	 	    
MEN (Men)	  	  
KIB (Cib)	   	   
KABAN (Caban)	   	  
ETZ'NAB (Etz'nab)	   	  
KAWAK (Cauac)	     	    
AHAW (Ahau)	     	   

Maya dates: the Day names, Ix through Ahaw

MONTH	MONUMENTS	CODICES	LANDA
POHP (Pop)			
WO (Uo)			
SIP (Zip)			
SOTZ' (Zotz')			
SEK (Zec)			
XUL (Xul)			
YAXK'IN (Yaxkin)			
MOL (Mol)			
CH'EN (Ch'en)			
YAX (Yax)			

Maya dates: the Month names, Pohp through Yax.

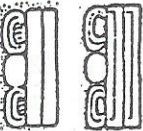
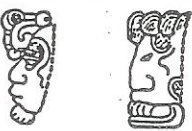


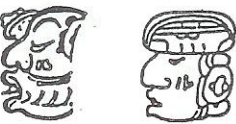





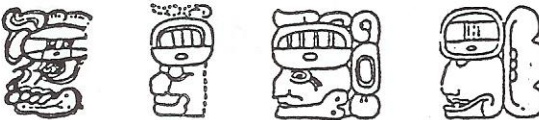

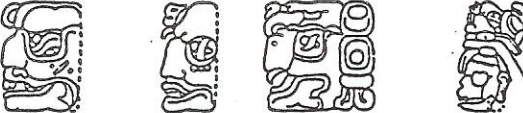








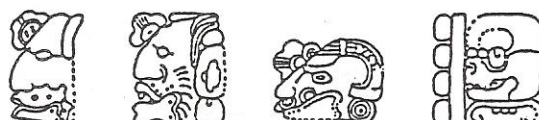




MONTH	MONUMENTS	CODICES	LANDA
SAK (Zac)	  		
KEH (Ceh)	 		
MAK (Mac)	   		
K'ANK'IN (Kankin)	   	 	
MUWAN (Muan)	 	 	
PAX (Pax)	   		
K'AYAB (Kayab)	   	 	
KUMK'U (Cumku)	  	 	

wayeb (uayeb)	 	 	
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Maya dates: the Month names, Sak through Kumk'u, and wayeb.

NUMBER	BAR AND DOT	HEAD VARIANTS - MONUMENTS	CODICES	OTHER
0				
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				

Maya dates: the Numbers, 0 through 10.

NUMBER	BAR AND DOT	HEAD VARIANTS - MONUMENTS	CODICES	OTHER
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20 / "com- pletion"				
other				

Maya dates: the Numbers, 11 through 20.

Part II

The Last Two Hundred Years of Classic Maya History

Transmission Termination Transformation

**by Nikolai Grube
and
Linda Schele**

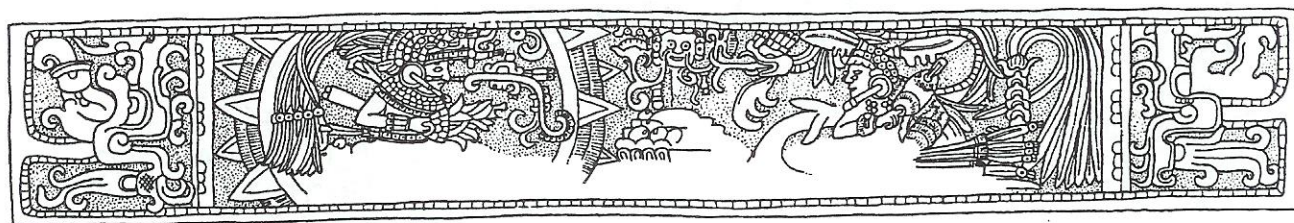


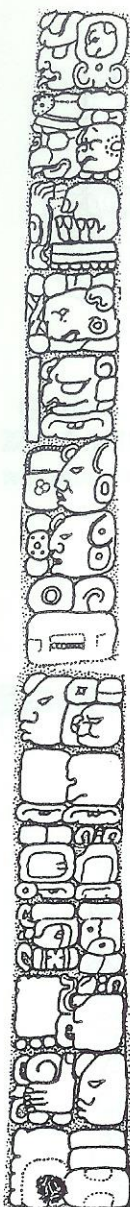
Introduction and Acknowledgments

This year's workbook is a continuation of the history Linda and Nikolai presented last year. However, this year we are focusing less on the alliance system that dominated Classic-period politics, and more on the unfolding of the last two hundred years of Maya history. For this reason we have overlapped the two workbooks, beginning this history at the 9.15.0.0.0 juncture. In addition, because we know we would be including many texts from the Terminal Classic period, we decided to include all events and not just those connected to the war and alliance pattern. Our hope is that the chronological assembly of all of the inscriptions from this period of history will reveal something of what the Maya perceived was happening to them during this period of extraordinary transformation.

We did much of the writing together in Antigua during the summer of 1994. Each of us continued independently thereafter with Linda working on Chiapas and the Southeast, while Nikolai focused on the eastern Peten and the north. Each of us cut out the appropriate passages, mounted them on sheets of paper with the dates written nearby. Linda then scanned all of the drawings and assembled the final version using Aldus Pagemaker. Circumstance and time restraints did not allow for a separate editing process this year, so that there may be many typos. Please read through the typos and realize that these workbooks convey huge bodies of information assembled under extraordinary deadlines.

We would like to acknowledge the contributions of Matthew Looer with special recognition. He worked long hours with us resolving the chronology and analysis of Quirigua Altars O' and P'. He provided all of his drawings of Quirigua and shared his most recent understanding with us. Last year's advanced seminar also saw a group working on Naranjo Stela 12 under the direction of Steve Houston. We benefited from our interaction with that group. And as always the Advance Seminar Group on Chich'en Itza provided many insights. We would also like to thank Peter Mathews for the use of his drawings and for the work on Chich'en Itza and Uxmal he completed with Linda in the summer of 1994. Peter Schmidt also generously shared his new discoveries at Chich'en Itza with Peter and Linda.

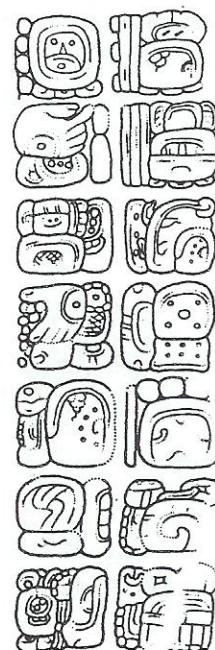




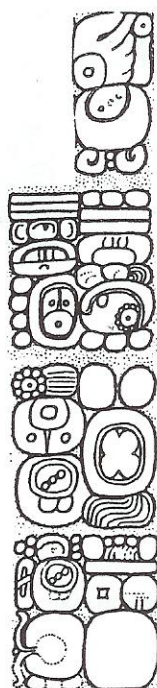
9.15.0.0.0 (Aug. 18, 731): [Venus at Eveningstar at 46.3 degrees on east end of Virgo.] These various passages record the end of the 15th k'atun.

The El Peru altar records the actions of a Calakmul woman, but the text is too badly damaged to make much of it.

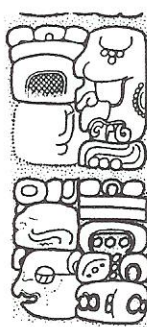
At Arroyo de Piedra, a *yahaw*, "vassal lord of," erected a stela and scattered.



A stela was also erected at Nimli Punit, where the lord includes a "Black Bat Lord" title in his name.



Calakmul's record of the k'atun ending is more complex. Recorded on Stela 89, the passages include "he ended 15 k'atuns," *patlah* "he formed it," and *kuchtah, ilah*, "he carried it, he saw it." The second passage below records a stela erection fourteen days later. Three days thereafter, an event recorded with the *kuchtah* verb is used to record the carrying of palanquins. If this is the meaning here, then the name of the palanquin, Sak-Nu-

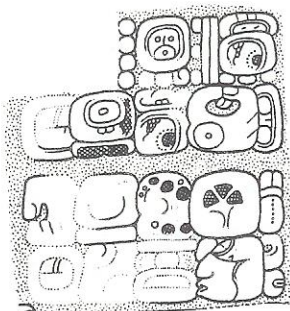


Balam, is very close to the palanquin on Tikal T1, Lintel 3, which also records the "downing of the flint-shield" of Jaguar-Paw of Calakmul. This text may record a replacement palanquin.

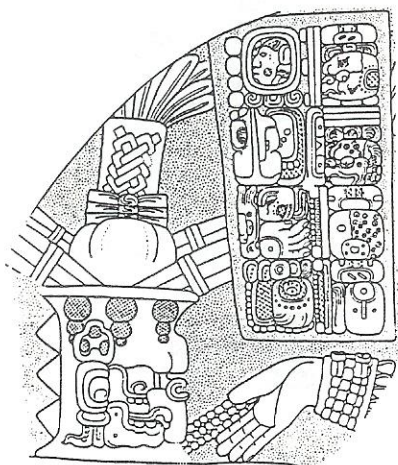
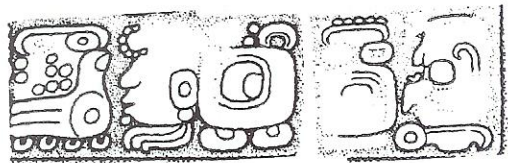


Yaxchlan HS 3 9.15.0.0.0

(Aug. 18, 731): This clause records an event on the k'atun ending (or perhaps repeats the capture that took place 12 winal later). The event is not identifiable, but the captive, Nak-Chiu, was acted upon by Itzam-Balam.



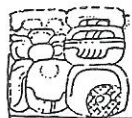
Aguateca St.3: Ruler 3 scattered.



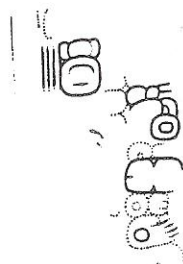
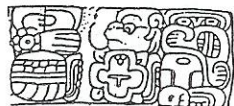
El Cayo New: Ah Chak Way Kutim Ah Yax Nil ended the 15th k'atun (*tzutzah u holahun k'atun*). He placed the stone in the center of the seat Yax Akul Ha Yax Nal.



Copan Stela B: *mitzil* of the heavenly god, the earthly god, and hun chanal. Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil set the partition stone; he ended fifteen k'atuns; he scattered drops.

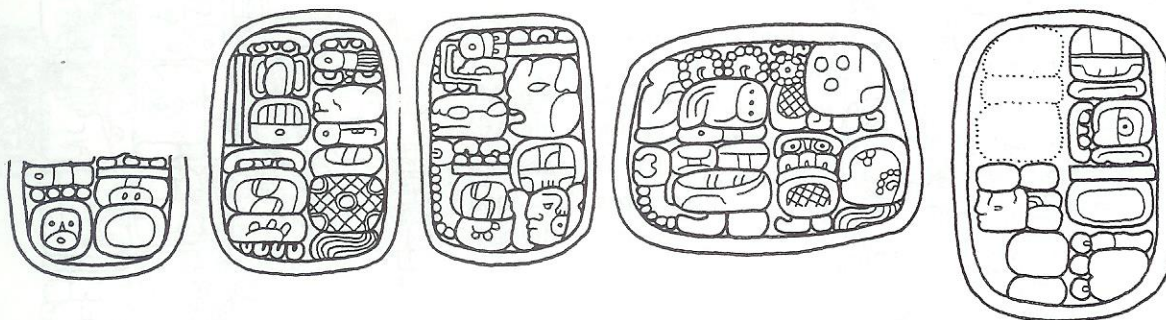


Copan Altar S: *u mitz u chankun*: was formed the snake port



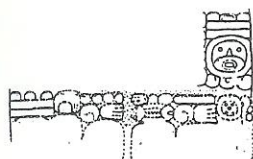
Xultun 14: the local ruler set the stone and displayed effigy gods.





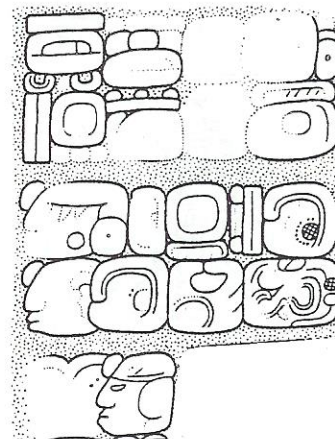
Quirigua, Zoo P, E: The record of this period ending always occurs in retrospective contexts at Quirigua. Zoo. P (a Sky-Xul monument) records the event in relationship to the later ruler Sky-Xul implying that he was present in the pe ritual. His name occurs with the phrase "the succession or replacement" of something

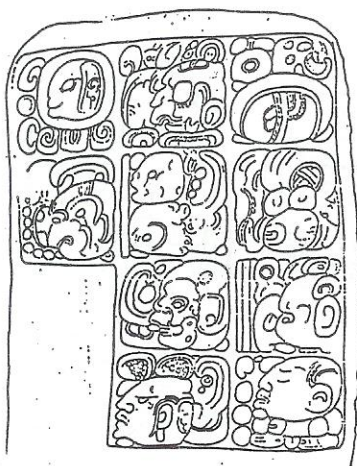
referred to with the couplet "partition black k'an white flower" followed by other problematic glyphs. This passage precedes another record of the period ending recording the phrase *u tz'apwa tun*, "he erected the stone." This passage includes a reference to a *kun* of a Copan lord. This is consistent with the status of Quirigua as part of the Copan polity at this time. Butz'-Tiliw acknowledged that status by saying that he acceded *u kahiy* Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil of Copan. The Stela E expression is even more remote in that it record the action as *iwal ch'ah ahaw*, whatever this means.



9.15.0.3.0 (Oct. 17, 731) Copan Stela A: The offerings were set in the cruciform vault under Stela A.

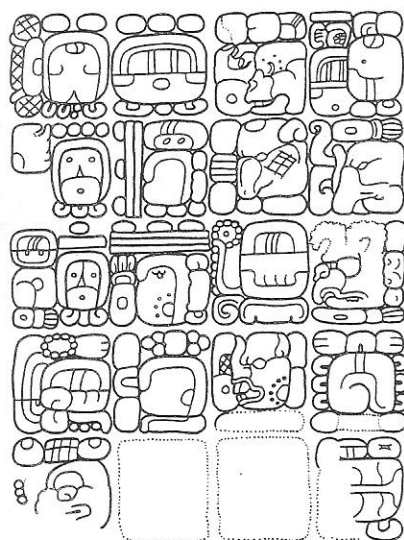
9.15.0.12.0 (April 14, 732)
Yaxchilan HS3: This passage records the capture of Nak-Chiu.



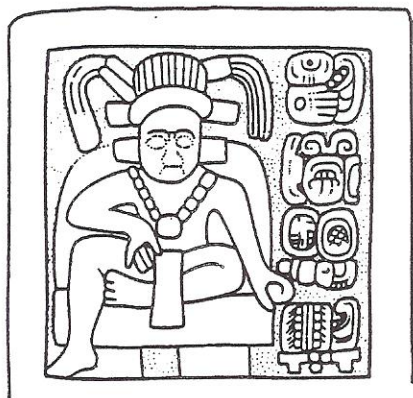


9.15.3.2.0 (Sep. 11, 734) Quirigua Alt.

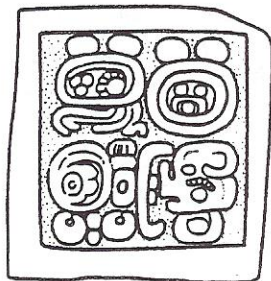
M: *awal patwi u kuch tun*, "and then he formed the seat stone" Butz'-Tiliw.

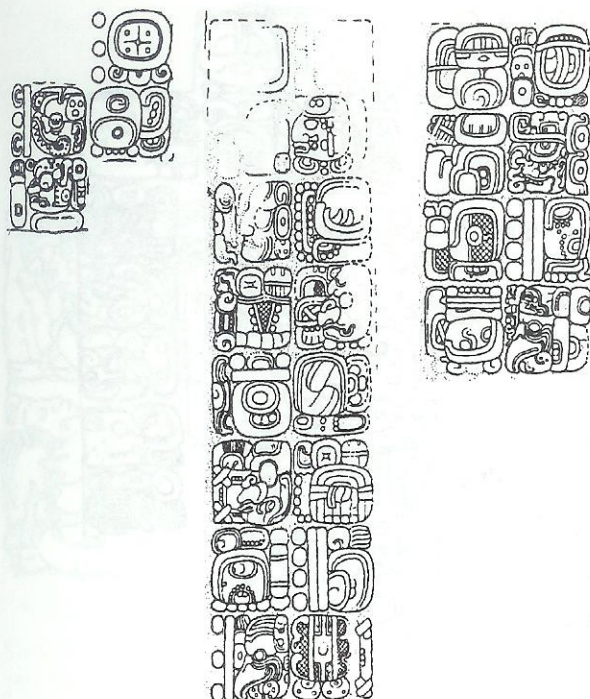


9.15.1.1.7 (Sep. 8, 732) Site Q, GP 9: This panel records a ballgame, but the important factor, as Simon Martin first recognized, is that the same Calakmul lord that appears here as in the 9.15.10.0.1 event at Yaxchilan.



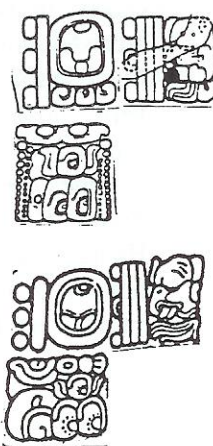
9.15.2.0.0 (Aug. 7, 733) Xkalamk'in Pan. 3: The *sahal* Kit Pa dedicated his glyphs.

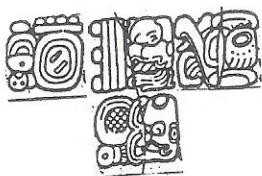
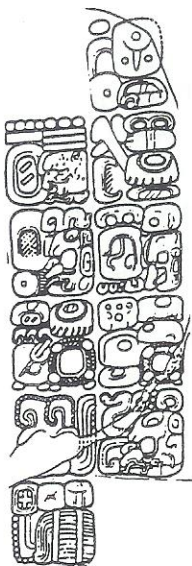




9.15.3.6.8 (Dec. 8, 734) Tikal 21 and 5: These passages record the accession of Ruler B, whose name was probably Yik'in-Kan-K'awil. The Stela % record also records the deposition of a *sak-lak*, a cache plate, in the house of the Eveningstar, an important patron god of Tikal that also shows up in the inscriptions of Dos Pilas. Here the cache was placed in the kun, "seat," of fourteen stone, which we think was probably the platform with the stelae in front of the North Acropolis. The last two glyph name another title or deity who is associated with creation imagery in the canoe scenes on the bones from Burial 116.

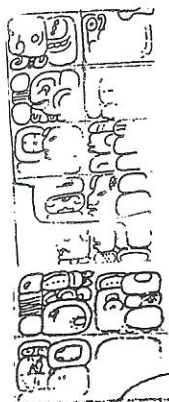
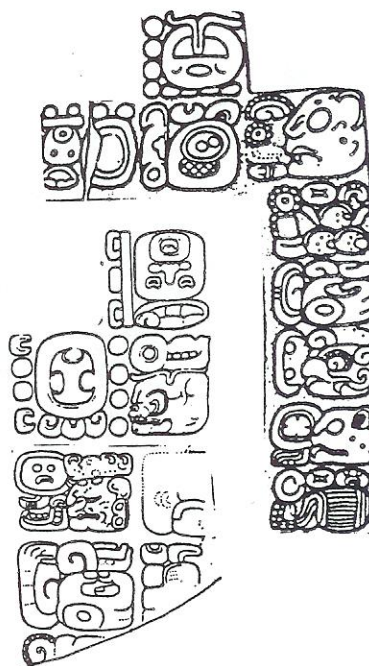
9.15.4.6.4 (Nov. 29, 735) Dos Pilas and Aguateca St.2: This was one of the first of these star events to be associated both with Venus hierophany (Kelley's and Closs's work) and as a war event (Riese). This as a star at Seibal event. [Venus as Eveningstar is at 7.2 degrees elongation at its heliacal rising.]





9.15.4.6.5 (Nov. 30, 735): These two passages record the attack as *ch'ak* against *u tz'ibal Pat K'awil*, "the writing of Pat-K'awil." At Dos Pilas, we also learn that the agent is the flint shield and other objects of Ruler 3.

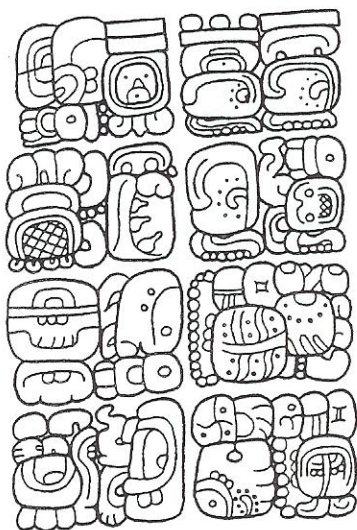
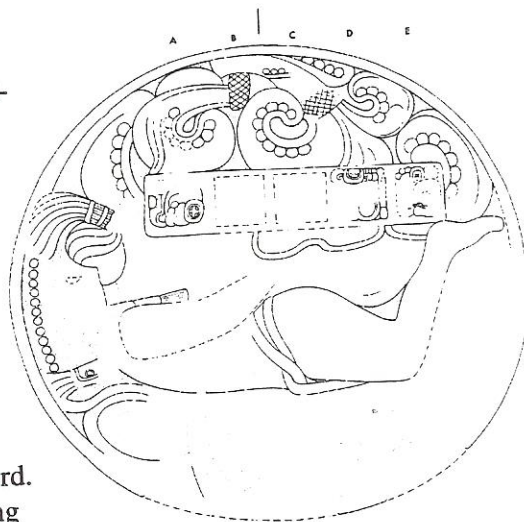
9.15.4.6.0 (Dec. 6, 735): Here *Ich'ak-Balam*, the ruler of Seibal, is decorated, probably for sacrifice in the company of Ruler 3 of Dos Pilas. He apparently did not die in this event for he continues to appear in later inscriptions at Seibal. This suggests that conquest could result in relationships of subordination and dominance as well as death in battle or sacrifice.



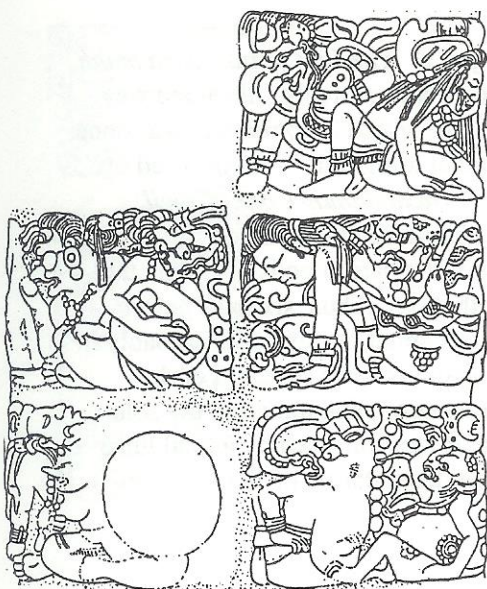
9.15.4.15.3 (May 26, 736) Itzan 17: Someone is born at Itzan. The name is eroded.

9.15.5.0.0 (Jul. 22, 736) Tikal St 21*: *Yik'in-Chan-K'awil* erected a monument near Temple 6.

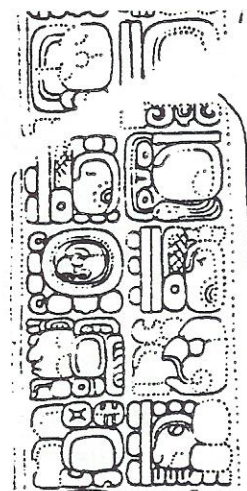
The altar to this stela shows a belly-down captive in the position recorded with the *Machaquila*, "flatten," verb. According to Simon Martin, his name includes the glyphs *Yukom Holy Calakmul lord*. He may have been the king himself or a high noble, but this shows once again a war between Tikal and Calakmul.



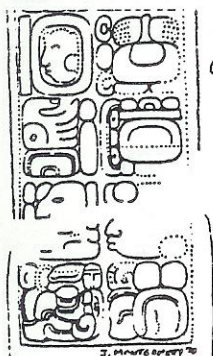
Quirigua I: *Butz'-Tilwi* erected a *lakamtun*. His name includes a reference to *Wamaw K'awil Nab Tunich K'ul Ahaw*. *Nab Tunich* is a toponym associated with *Kalak'mul*. The glyph intervening between the two names is not clear so that we cannot say whether it is a second verb or a relationship glyph. However, the name is clearly intended to be read in close proximity to the following passage, which refers to events surrounding the defeat and sacrifice of *Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil* of Copan. This suggests that *Butz'-Tilwi* courted *Kalak'mul* in preparation for this confrontation with Copan and may have acted with their support.



915.0.0.0: Piedras Negras St. 9: Ruler 4 celebrated the hotun followed five days later by another event.



9.15.5.0.0: Copan Stela D: Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil set up Stela D.

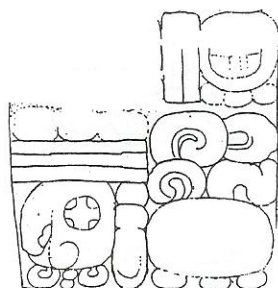


9.15.5.3.13
(Oct. 3, 736)
Piedras Negras,
St 9: Ruler 4
celebrated his
seventh tun in
reign.

9.15.6.5.2 (Oct. 31, 737) Naj Tunich
Drawing 23: Mopan was visited by
someone and his *y-itah* "companion".



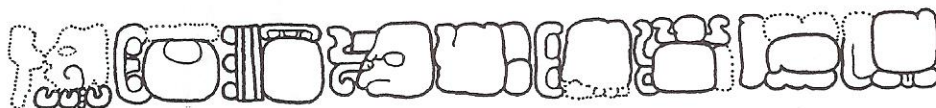
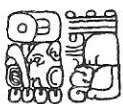
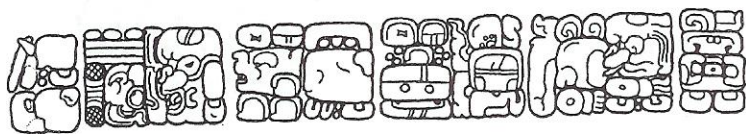
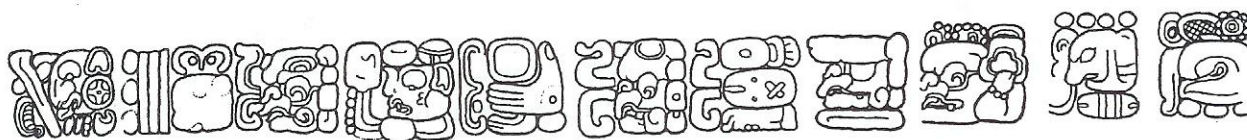
9.15.6.8.13 (Jan. 6,
738) Copan BC III:
Smoke entered the
ballcourt. This was the
dedication ritual of the
final phase of the
Copan ballcourt.



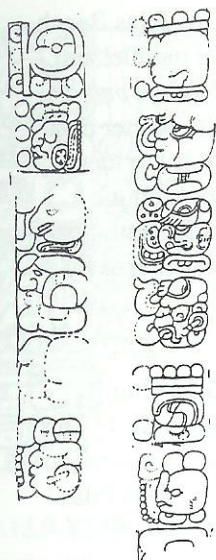


9.15.6.14.0 (Apr. 23, 738) Quirigua I: The first phrase is *ch'omah u te'*, "his wood was hit or pierced" or alternatively "his wood was enslaved." It is followed by *ch'a-??-ah u k'ak'*, "something was done to his fire." A undeciphered glyph including u ta-?? is followed by *Chan-Ahaw, K'uy Nik Ahaw, u ch'ul Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil*. Looper's new drawing of this text shows that the gods of Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil are two of the patron gods of Copan that show up repeatedly in the texts of that city. Thus, six days before Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil died by decapitation his gods, probably in the form of captured statues or palanquins were captured or destroyed. This day fell on an eclipse station, and although the solar eclipse was not visible at Quirigua, it was followed by a total lunar eclipse on May 8th, shortly after the decapitation of Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil.

9.15.6.14.6 (Apr 29, 738) Quirigua E, F, G, J: *ch'akba* Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil, Xukpi Ahaw by Butz'-Tilwi of Quirigua. On Stela J, Butz'-Tilwi also recorded that he took a *k'awil* (statue) on this date. This event fell on the first zenith passage, six days after the eclipse station, and nine days before the total lunar eclipse mentioned above.



Cop HS: Waxaklahun-Ubah K'awil died by a *tok'-pakal*.



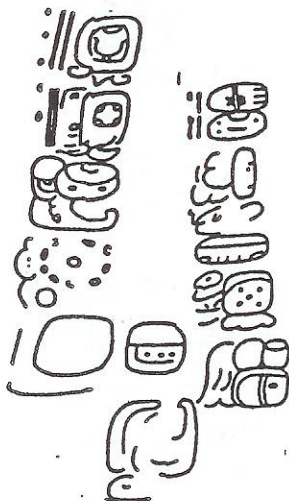
9.15.6.16.5 (738 Jun 7)
Copan base to Stela N and
HS 43: the 14th Ruler
(Smoke-Monkey) became
the ahaw and seated in
ahawship.



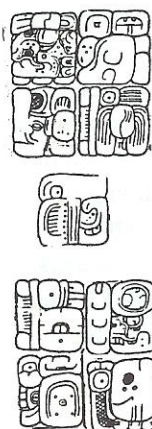
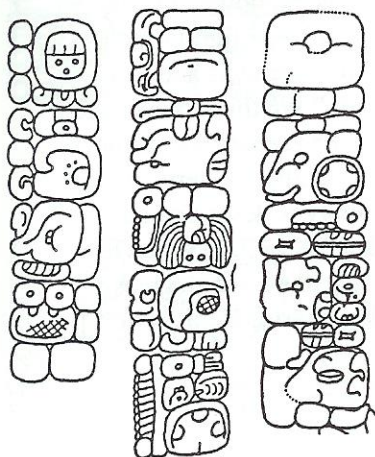
9.15.7.7.12 (Dec.
15, 738) Naj Tunich
Drawing 37: The text
is eroded.



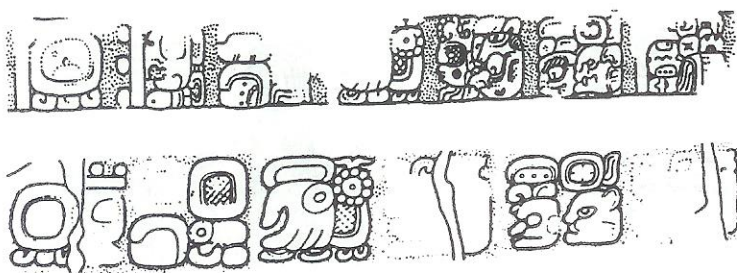
9.15.8.8.5 (Dec. 23,
739) Naj Tunich Draw-
ing 65: The nature of
this event is not known.
The same verb occurs on
Site Q Glyphic Panel 11.



9.15.8.9.4 (Jan. 11, 740) Naj
Tunich Drawing 65: Mopan
was witnessed/visited by
someone. Mopan probably
was the ancient name of the
area around Naj Tunich.



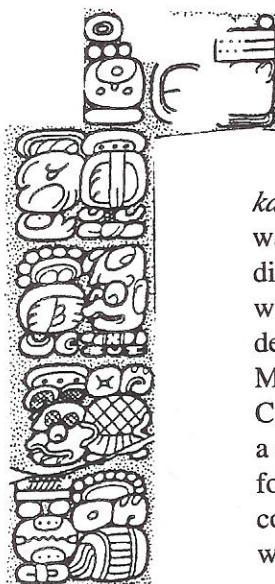
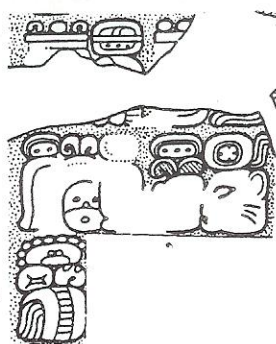
9.15.9.3.14 (Sept. 13, 740) Bonampak' L3:
Ch'a???, the yahawte of Knot-eye-Jaguar, He-
of-the-Knot-Place, was captured *u kahi* Ah Sak-
T'el-Huh of Xuklan. The syntax of this text
seems to parallel the other two lintels, so that
we are basing our reading on assuming that the
glyph between the captive's name and Knot-
eye-Jaguar is *u yahawte* as on the other lintel.
This reading suggests that the lord of Lacanja
capture a vassal of the king of Bonampak. This
seems strange, but perhaps we are dealing with
a rebellion of some kind.



9.15.9.9.0 (Dec. 28, 740) Dos Pilas Bench, Aguateca St. 1: Both texts are parallel and contain two verbs. The first verb is *puk*, probably "to divide, distribute; scatter dust". It precedes a glyph which is hard to identify. On Stela 1 it seems to be *patwa*, on the Bench only a *ni* suffix is visible. Both texts then continue that *ch'ah* was scattered by Ruler 3 of Dos Pilas.

9.15.9.16.11 (May 28, 741) Aguateca St.

1: This passage records the death of Ruler 3 of Dos Pilas/Aguateca. He is named only as the "Guardian of K'in-Balam, Holy Lord of Mutul." In the 1990 Philadelphia meetings, Linda identified this as the name of a captured palanquin from Tikal. We suspect it was taken during the battle against Shield-Skull.

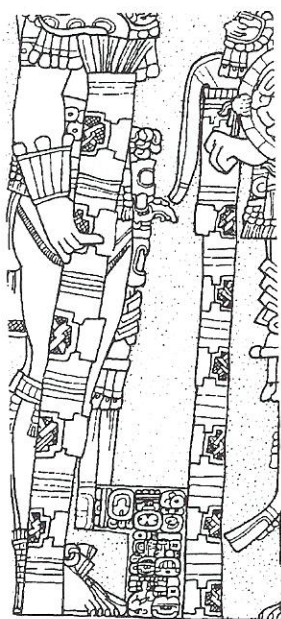


9.15.9.16.15 (Jun. 1, 741) Aguateca St. 1: This text records a pre-accession ritual for Dos Pilas Ruler 4. The text reads

kachah u say hun hulwa "It was tied up the bundle of the dislocated bones". *Say* is a word for "desconcertar, desencajar huesos" in Yukatek Maya. In the Yukatek of the Cayo district, a *sayan winik* is a shaman, or "brujo". Therefore, the bundle could both contain the bones of Ruler 3, who had died only a few days before, or the sacred instruments of a shaman.

Hul is inflected as a transitive verb here; we believe it records the verb *jul* "to throw" in Cholan (for divination?) or

Yukatek *hul* "to thread" (for tying up the bundle). {Another possible reading is *hu'san* is "to down" in Chol and "to plaster lightly with daub to fill cracks and to smooth." We think this event could be the preparation of the burial bundle. A very similar ceremony is described on Naranjo Stela 32. [Venus as Eveningstar is 8.5 degrees before Inferior Conjunction.]

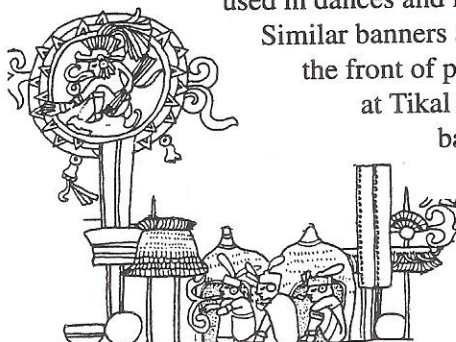


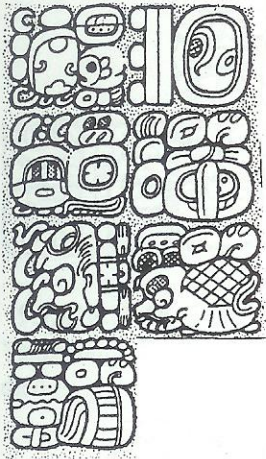
9.15.9.17.16 (Jun. 22, 741) Yaxchilan St. 11:

In this event, the aged Itzam-Balam danced with his son, Yaxun-Balam four days after the summer solstice. Itzam-Balam was about 93 years old at the time so his dance must have been restrained to say the least. The dance was with the *hasaw-kan*, a banner used in dances and in battle.

Similar banners appear on the front of palanquins at Tikal and in battle

scenes at Chichen Itza.

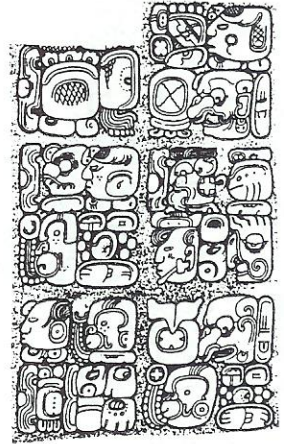




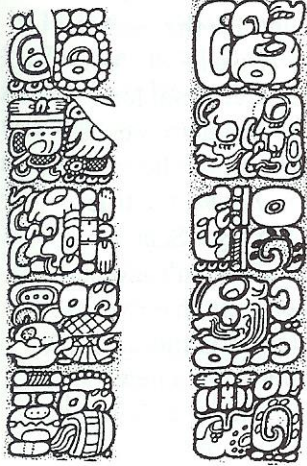
9.15.9.17.17 (Jun. 23, 741)
Aguateca St. 1: This passage records the accession (*hok'ah ti ahaw*, "he left as Ahaw") of Ruler 4 of Aguateca. K'awil-K'inich scattered in the company of the patrons of Aguateca.



9.15.10.0.0 (Jun. 26, 741)
Quirigua Stela F: An unknown event that involves Lakamtun Xukpi.Butz'-Tiliw also records that this pe occurs at the half-period after 9.15.0.0.0. He notes that k'atun ending as a day on which the *hal k'ohba*, "manifested the image," event of creation recurred in the sky at dawn.

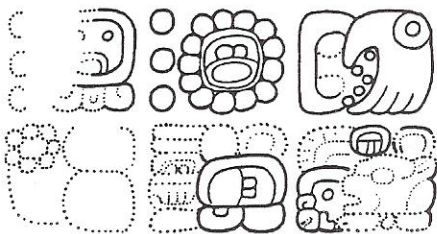
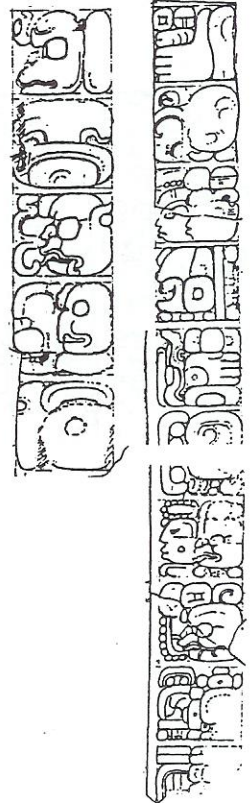


Machaquila. St.11:
Etz'nab-Chak, captor of Motul de San José, erected a stone stela.

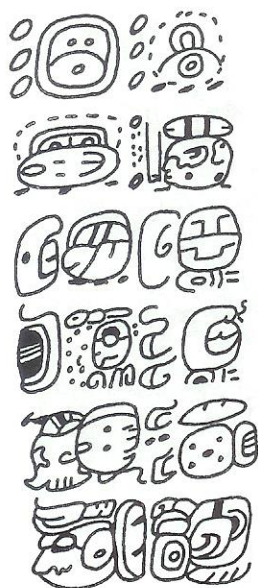


Aguateca St. 1:
K'awil K'inich scattered drops in the company of GI and K'awil. It happened at Aguateca.

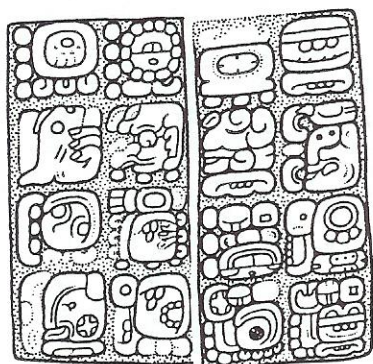
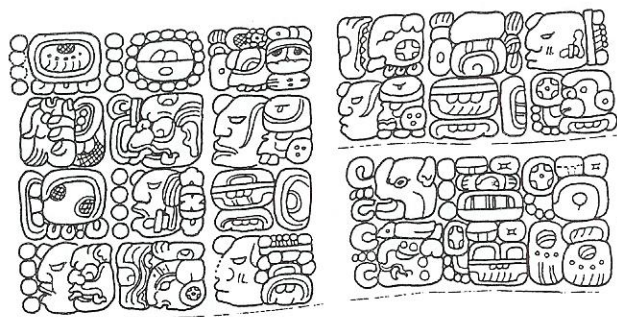
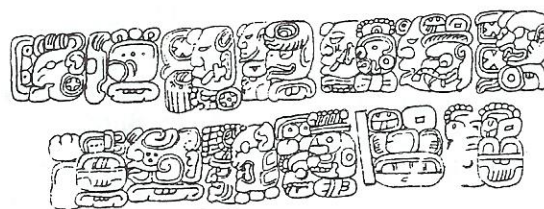
El Peru St.27: An unknown event occurred with Balam K'awil, ruler of El Peru. This event happens only two years before the "Star War" of Tikal against El Peru recorded on Tikal Temple IV Lnt. 3. The accession in the row to the rite also occurs on this stela, but the date cannot be reconstructed.



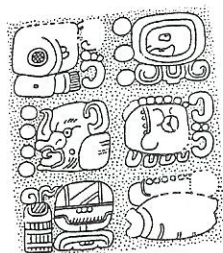
Nim Li Punit St. 1: Lahun(?) Chan Ahaw, divine lord of Nim Li Punit, scattered *ch'ah*.



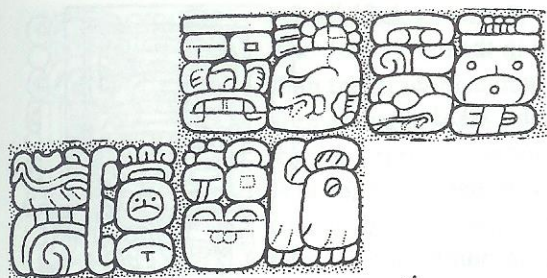
9.15.10.0.0 Naj
Tunich Drawing 52:
Ah Chak ?? arrived in
the company of an
artist named K'ul Ok-
tzi K'awil Tz'ul. He
was the *y-anabil*, or
"stone carver" of the
itz'at "sage" Sak Ok.



9.15.10.14.6 (Apr. 8,
742): Cancuen HS1:
Tah-Chan-Ak of
Cancuen was born



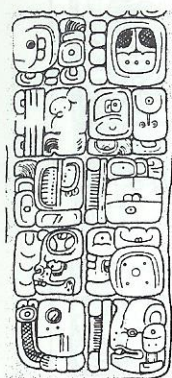
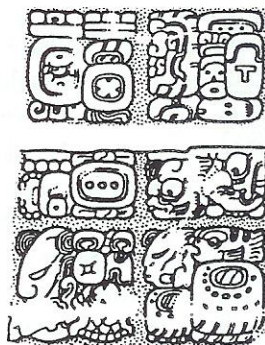
9.15.10.0.1 (Jun. 27, 741) Yaxchilan, St. 35 and Lintel 39: This event is recorded on many monuments at Yaxchilan and involves many people. Following Schele and Freidel in *Forest of Kings*, we believe his conjuring rite occurred on the occasion of Yaxun-Balam's marriage to Lady Chak-Kimi. Each of the texts concerning this event either record bloodletting or conjuring. For our purposes, it is Simon Martin's work with these texts that is important. He first realized that the name following the *u kahiy* on Stela 35 is the same as the name of a Calakmul lord on Site Q glyphic panel 9. Furthermore, he also recognized that the name following the *u kahiy* expression on Lintel 39 is *Yukom*, the title that goes with the names of Calakmul kings. Schele and Freidel had recognized that Yaxun-Balam's mother was from Calakmul, but we missed entirely that two major figures from Calakmul participated in this conjuring rite. Simon's recognition opens up a new understanding of political processes during the Classic period. Marriage brought not only a wife, but participation of men in the wife's lineage and her polity in the affairs of state.



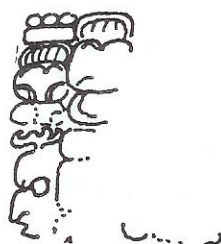
9.15.10.17.15 (June 16, 742)
Yaxchilan L27, St. 12: Itzam-Balam died.



9.15.10.17.15 (June 16, 742) DPL
Bench 1: Death of a woman from Cancuen, who was married to Dos Pilas Ruler 3 and probably was the mother of Ruler 4. Her burial was found 1990 in a cist below Hieroglyphi Bench

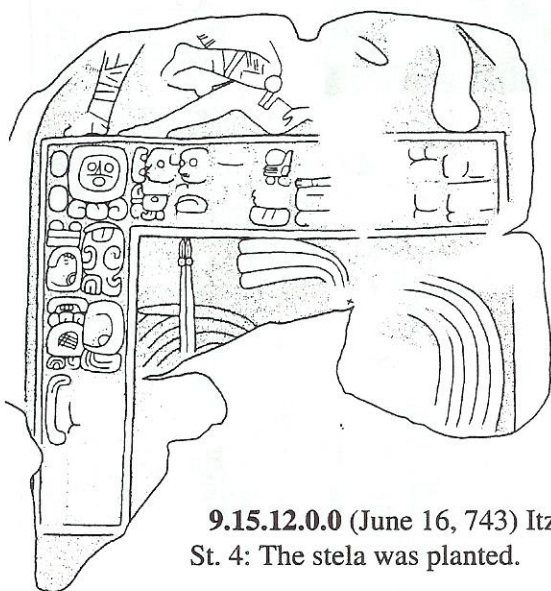


9.15.11.13.3 (Mar 11, 743) Lacanja L1: Ah Sak-T'el-Huh was seated in sahalship.

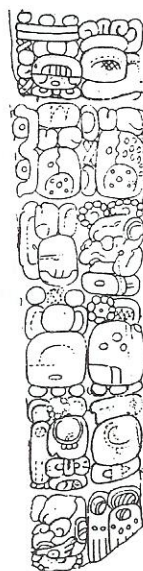


9.15.11.15.15 (May 2, 743) ITZ St. 17: An unknown event happens to "Deer-Antler-Jaguar", the king of an unknown polity. he is named only once more on the same stela.

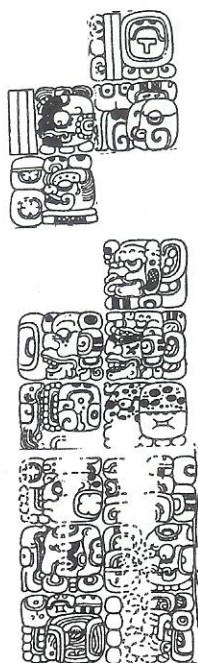
9.15.11.16.15 (May 22, 743) Itzan 17: an unknown event with U-Chan ???, the child born seven years earlier. This event was conducted in the presence of the ruler of Altar de Sacrificios.



9.15.12.0.0 (June 16, 743) Itzimte St. 4: The stela was planted.



9.15.12.0.0 (743 Jun 16)
Copan T22a stone: a waybil named "Star-??-Nawal set up or encased (tz'api); it was the waybil of Yax-Pasah.



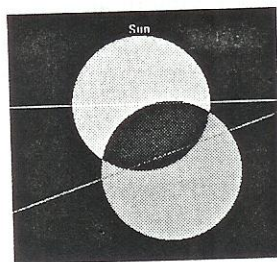
9.15.12.2.2 (Aug. 1, 743) Tikal T4, L3 : Schele in the 1990 workshop, and in a presentation at Pennsylvania, identified the proper names of the palanquins in the Tikal lintels. Freidel and Schele also discuss them in *Maya Cosmos*. But the most amazing and productive work has been made by Simon Martin in his 1991 study of these inscriptions and by Simon and Nikolai in their continuing collaboration. Our commentary relies especially on their recent work.

The text begins with an anchor date (9.15.10.0.0 -- not included) and the date and star-shell event. The place is Yax Ha Lak'in Wakah. Most epigraphers had taken this to be the site to the east of Tikal, but Simon Martin has made a very good case that this was another lake located to the west near the site of El Peru. He identified the eg in the second part of the clause.

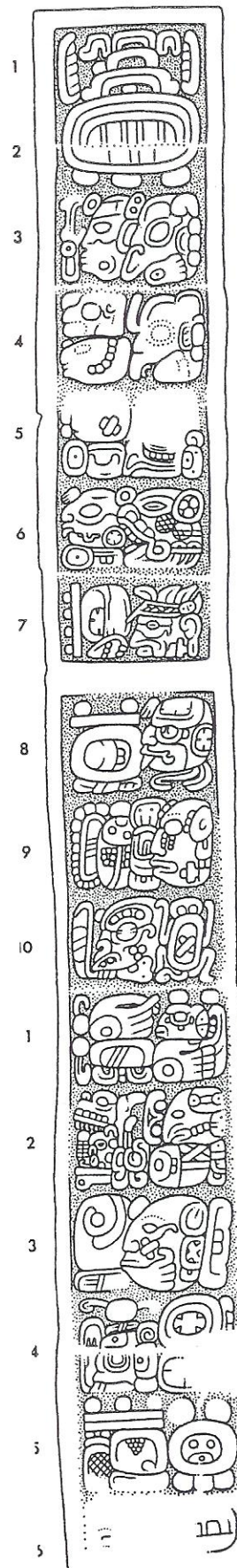
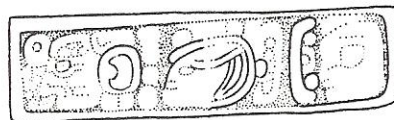
This second clause begins with a verb we have long read as *bakwah* and taken to be some derived form of *baksah*, "to cause to be seized." Nikolai and Simon have suggested that this is a verb specifically used to record

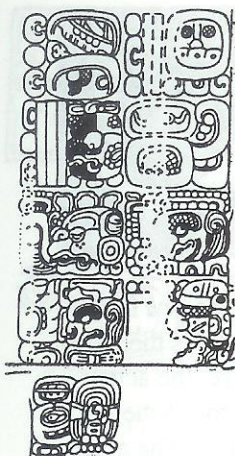
the capture of palanquins. The next two glyphs are the proper names of the capture palanquin. In this case the name includes God A', and probably refers to the gods crouching on the base of the litter under the king's feet. The text continues naming this being as the "god of" (*u k'ul*) Balam-Tzam Holy El Per Lord. Once again Simon first identified this eg as that of El Peru. Finally, we have *u kahiy*, *Yik'in-Kan-K'awil K'ul Mutul Ahaw Kan K'atun Chakte*, identifying the agent as Yik'in, the king of Tikal.

1995: Last year Linda associated the second star-war event on these two lintels with an eclipse that Nikolai had discovered some years earlier. It turned out that Nikolai had found a different eclipse that preceded this battle by six days. It occurred on July 25, 743, so that both of these starwar events appear to have been timed to follow solar eclipses.



9.15.12.6.9 (Oct. 23, 743) XCM, Panel 2: A full Initial Series, but no event is recorded.

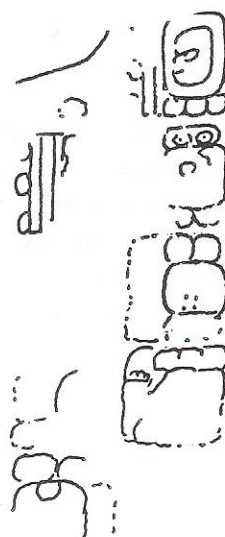




9.15.12.2.3 (Aug. 2, 743) Tikal T4, L3: These events occurred on the following day. The verb is damaged. We checked the original and were not able to identify anymore than the drawing shows--??*apah*. The next glyph is a howler monkey: with the *tz'a* sign above it, we think it read *u tz'at*, a term for "sage" or "artist." The next glyph is *ti k'u ok*. Linda had taken the suffix to this glyph to be a *kV* sign, but Nikolai says that it is probably *tzi* and represents a special inflectional suffix that goes with the verb *ok*. The *tzutz* (or *hom*), "to finish" or "to end," then the *yok*, "the base of," and finally the name of the palanquin. This event may be the destruction of the seat or housing of the palanquin at El Peru or some other type of action with the base and artist of the captured palanquin. This second also matches closely the record of the Waxaktun war on Stela 31.

Finally, the text concludes with *ival huli Mutul*, "and then he arrived at Tikal." Presumably, this records the return of the king to Tikal with his booty.

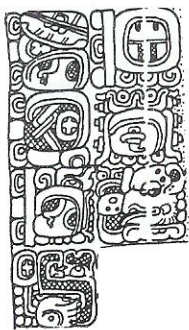
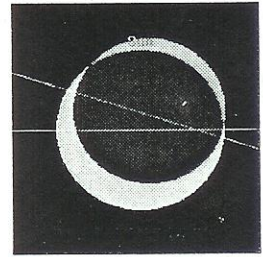
9.15.12.9.5 (Dec. 18, 743)
ITZ St. 17: eroded



9.15.12.9.15 (Jan. 1, 744) Naj Tunich Drawing 34: Somebody who is not mentioned with a nominal glyph arrived at the black earth place. Perhaps this was the bearer of the emblem glyph title. The main sign of the emblem glyph again is the Water Scroll. He arrived in the company of a bearer of a modified form of the Chuwen title. The same black earth place is mentioned in the long text of the "Vase of the 88 Glyphs".



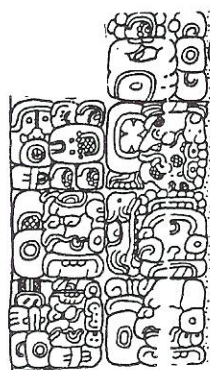
9.15.12.11.12 (Feb. 3, 744) Tikal T4, L3: Lintel 3 begins with the same anchor date, linked to a date in February of the following year. This occurred fifteen days after a near total solar eclipse at Tikal. The interval hits the next full moon when a lunar eclipse might have been expected, although in this case none occurred. Nevertheless, the battle seems to have been set so that it fell on the first appropriate day after the eclipse. The event glyph consists of an *ok* head with the fingers of a hand sign Nikolai has read as *ke* replacing its lower jaw. This reading presents a problem because Tikal uses the *och* form for the verb "to enter" that is characteristic of Cholan languages. In Cholan, *ok* is the term for "foot" or "base," but it does not function as a verb. However it works here, the action concerns a *sak nik lak*, a "white flower plate." This is one of the terms used for cache plates. We take the action to be the placing of an offering in one of these plates. The actor is K'inich Yik'in-Kan-K'awil, who names himself a *k'ul way*, "holy sorcerer."



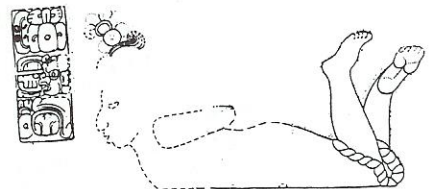
9.15.12.12.13 (Feb. 4, 744) Tikal T4, L2: The events on the following day involve another star event. Simon Martin in his 1991 paper was the first one to identify the actors and locations in this passage. The star sign is over a cartouche with an earflare inside and a *hi* sign below. Nikolai and Simon have gathered evidence that this sign is phonetic *kaj* or "town." Simon associated the next three glyphs with Naranjo. The first, Wak Kabnal is a locative and title repeatedly used in Naranjo name. The second glyph is *tu kun* (we checked the original lintel), and the last one is the name of the supernatural known as Square-nosed Beastie. This fellow is a patron god of Naranjo who appears in numbered succession titles of its kings. The text implies that Wak Kabnal or Naranjo was the seat of the god.



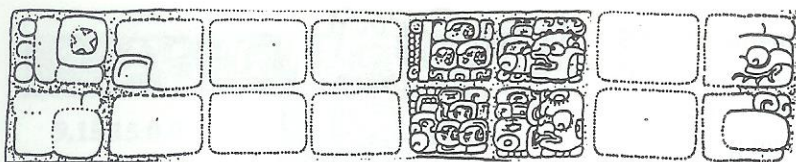
The next verb is *bakwah*. By analogy with Lintel 3, Nikolai and Simon have tentatively identified the second glyph as the word for palanquin. They have not proposed a reading yet, but the idea seems a good one.



Barbara MacLeod has suggested that this verb read *kuchi*, "was carried." The name of the object that follows Nik Pilip K'in Hix Ek' Hun identified the god who stands over the king. It is followed by *u k'ul*, "the god of," Yax May Kan Chak Sak Chuwen, the name of the king at Naranjo who appears on Stela 18. Simon identified this king at Naranjo and as the captive on the base of Tikal Stela 5. Linda checked the original monument in December and confirmed his identification. The *sak chuwen* appears with a monkey head in place of the normal phonetic version.



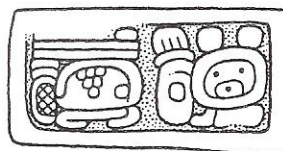
This last verb has not been deciphered. Checking the original led Nikolai and Linda to identify the first sign as a probable nine. The rest is *teh na hiya*. It may read something like *Bolontehnahi*, but we have no idea what it means. The same verb occurs on shields at Tonina. Here the actor is the Chakte or the Tikal king.



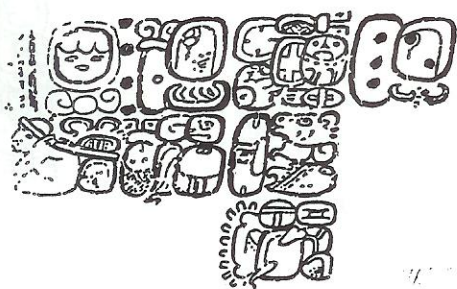
9.15.13.0.0 (Jan. 10, 744) Seibal HS:
Someone who was the companion of
Ich'ak-Balam, did a pe ritual in the
company of Ruler 4 of Dos Pilas.



K'ayal Glyphic Stone 1: The text
consists of the date only: (8) te Yaxk'in,
13 Tun in (K'atun) 2 Ahaw.



Xcalumkin Capital 1: No text
is recorded other than the date



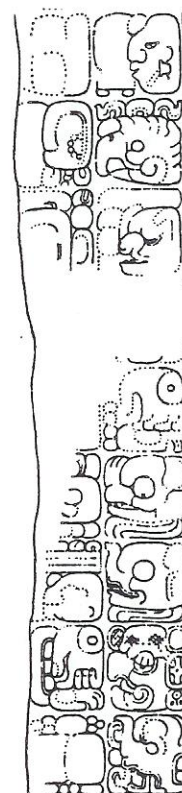
9.15.13.3.14 (Aug. 23, 744) Naj Tunich Drawing
82: Tum Yol K'inich of Caracol, a lord who did
not erect his own monuments at Caracol but
probably is mentioned on Altar 23 and Stela 11
carried fire or smoke. This was done under the
auspices of Chak Balam? Tok'. His emblem glyph
has been identified by Simon Martin as that of
Ixkun. It differs from the very similar Sacul
emblem glyph only by the addition of the *pi*
syllable.



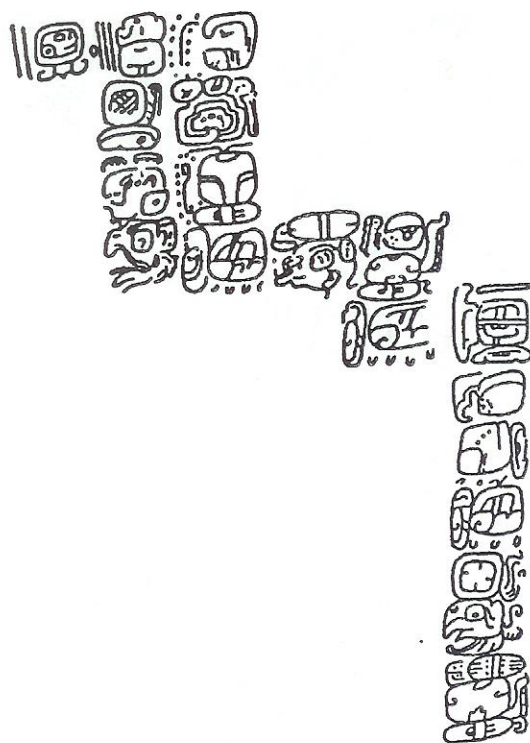
9.15.13.6.9 (Oct. 17, 744)
Yaxchilan HS 2: Yaxun-
Balam played a ballgame
and sacrificed Ek'-Chih, a
lord of Lakamtun.



9.15.14.9.13 (Dec. 15,
745) Piedras Negras
St.40: a series of scatter-
ing events occurred
involving an ancestor.



9.15.13.11.7 (Jan. 27, 743) Naj Tunich Drawing 65: The verb here seems to be *pak-xa* "to return" (after a decipherment by Barbara MacLeod). The next glyphs are nominals and an emblem glyph of an unknown polity, perhaps a polity in the near vicinity of the cave. The emblem glyph is followed by the title *muyal chak* "Rain Chak" and then mentions two brothers of the protagonist, Chak Ain, the older brother, and K'in Ahan (?), the younger brother.



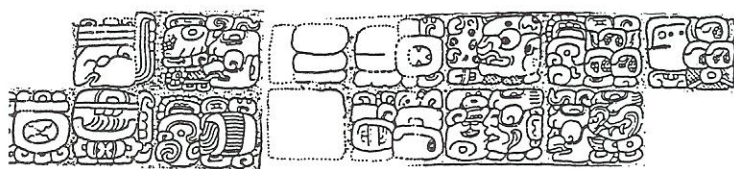
9.15.14.13.17 (Mar. 9, 746) Itzan 17: some action by a person from a place called Witznal.



9.15.14.17.14 (May 25, 746) Bonampak' panel: Exactly four years after Itzam-Balam's death, there an event at Bonampak' described phonetically as *tutah*. This may be related to the *u tutal* phrases associated with k'atun-ending ceremonies at Palenque. This was done by someone named Ah Tilay or Ah Sak Lay. This day fell on an eclipse station. There was not a visible solar eclipse in the region, but fifteen days later on June 7, there was a 36% umbral exlipse of the moon that would have confirmed the eclipse station. This may be why the anniversary was celebrated on this day.



9.15.14.17.18 (May 29, 746) Seibal HS: K'awil-Chan-K'inich of Dos Pilas scattered *ch'ah*. Its interesting that the Dos Pilas lord scattered two days before the period-ending and he was with Ich'ak-Balam of Seibal in the company of the patron gods of the Petex Batun state.

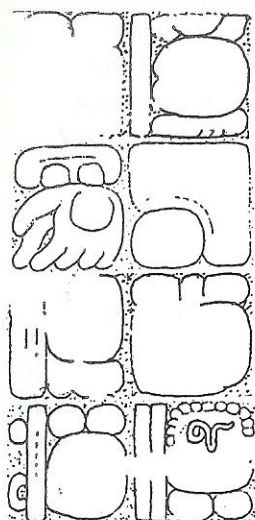
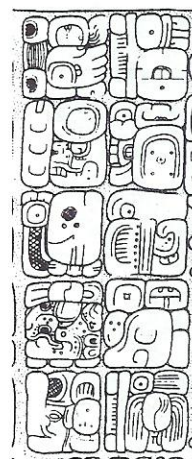




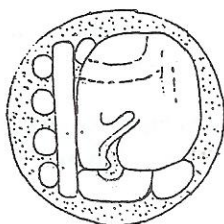
9.15.15.0.0
(May 31, 746)
Yaxchilan St 11:
sj, who is dead,
erected or com-
missioned a stela
which was erected
u kahi of bj.



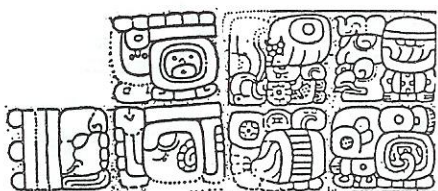
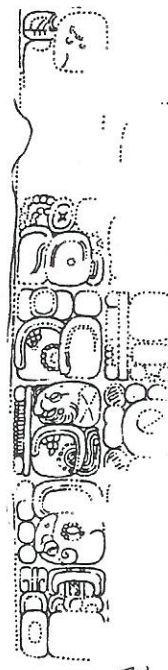
Lacanja L1: AH
Sak-T'el-Huh Anab
set the stone as the
sahal of Knot-eye-
Jaguar of Bonampak.



San Lucas Alt. 3: This round
altar from the small site San
Lucas, situated at a small tribu-
tary of the Usumacinta records
the scattering of offerings by Ah
K'an Max, the most prominent
lord at that site.



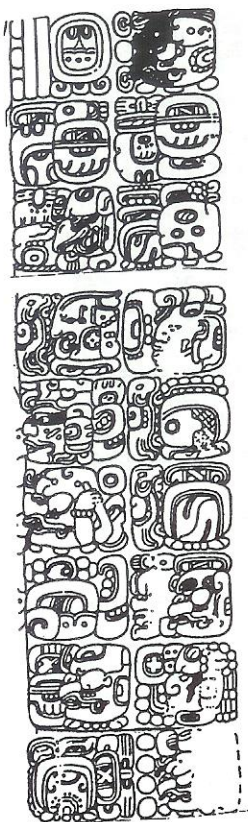
Piedras Negras St.
40 Ruler 5 and his
subordinate cel-
ebrate the period
ending at the White
House.



Seibal HS: K'awil-Chan-K'inich of Dos
Pilas scattered *ch'ah* at Tamarindito two
days after he had scattered at Seibal. This
sequence shows his movement from one
town within the polity to another.

No drawing available

Quirigua S: Butz'-Tilwi
dedicated a stela and scattered.



Tikal T4, L3, **9.15.15.2.3** (Jul. 13, 746): This event takes place three years after the palanquin from El Peru was captured. The verb is unknown although it may read something like *nachi* or *nayich*. In Yukatek, *nach* is "hate," while *nay* is "visions seen in dreams." The following glyph is *ti kan tzab kan tzuk*, "in the sky the snake rattle sky partition." David Stuart first deciphered the *tzab* glyph and suggested it referred to the vision serpent. We accept the reading but not the identification. Linda has checked that day to see if anything was happening near the Pleiades or Sagittarius, but she found nothing. The actor is identified as an ahaw of the flat hand holding *man* that we saw on the Early Classic Marcador. And finally we have *u natal ch'ahom*, "the first scatterer." These should be titles for Yik'in-Kan-K'awil.

The second section begins with a glyph reading *u bah an*. David Stuart was the first to suggest this reading in a letter to Federico Fahsen. We've found a lot of evidence supporting his reading. *An* is "to exist" in Yukatek, but as Nikolai noted, it is "to kindle or burn," "to hew or carve," and "to be crippled or injured" in 16th century Tzotzil. The glyph that follows is undeciphered but an identical phrase appears on Yaxchilan HS3, Step 4, and the second glyph plus *winik* and *ahaw* appears in the name of the god sculpture on the capture palanquin, because God A's name follows in the next glyph. We suspect this a recarving or renewal of the god on the captured palanquin. Finally it is called *u k'ul chakte*, "the god of the chakte." The last clause begins with *kuchtah*, "he was carried." The next glyph consists of *ti*, "in," and a head corresponding to the deity in the snake's mouth and *na-kan*, the glyph for Vision Serpent. This is the name of the snake arching over the palanquin. The last four glyphs name Yik'in-Kan-K'awil.

The text continues with *ak'otah*, "he danced," with ???God A'. This seems once again to be a reference to the palanquin. And then the final passage begins with a glyph David Stuart has read as *patlah*, "was formed or made." The object formed is named in the next glyph and it happened at Yax Mutul Kan Kun, which is probably the name of the Great Plaza. The actor is named with his parentage statement. From the context we know it was Yik'in-Kan-K'awil.

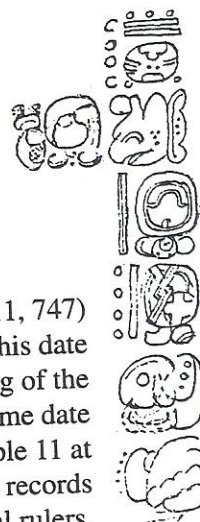


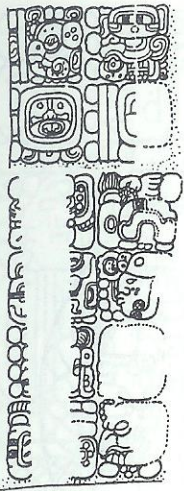
9.15.15.12.16 (747 Feb 11)
Copan T11: Ahaw Chak-Ek' U
Ok Hun Winik Ahaw appeared.
This was the first appearance of
Venus as Eveningstar.



9.15.15.3.16 (Aug. 15, 746) NAR St. 20: Balah Tok' ? Butz' Yip Chan Chak acceded at Naranjo. The date has long been in dispute, because it falls into phase when no monuments are erected at Naranjo. The accession took place only two years after the defeat of Naranjo by Tikal Ruler B. Stela 20 stands isolated in front of Structure B-13 and is the only monument of this king. It seems that this new lord tried a return to monumental activity after the demise of his predecessor. However, he was not successful. In some way Tikal must have managed to suppress the uprising of new rule at Naranjo.

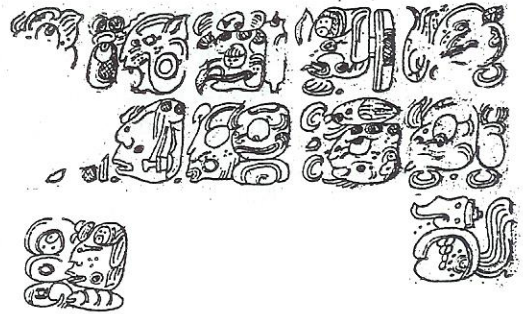
9.15.15.12.16 (Feb. 11, 747)
Bonampak' panel: This date
fell on the heliacal rising of the
Eveningstar. The same date
was recorded in Temple 11 at
Copan, but neither text records
the actions of historical rulers.



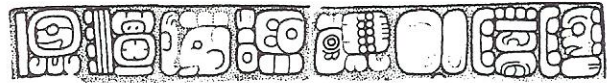


Tikal T4, L2 9.15.15.14.0 (Mar. 7, 747): This is the analogous event with the Naranjo palanquin. The verb seems to be an iconic substitute for the glyph MacLeod read as *kuch* because it shows a pair of arms holding an object up. The next glyph is Simon and Nikolai's "palanquin." The actor is again Yik'in-Kan-K'awil with the last two surviving glyphs referring perhaps to a Vision Serpent. Both this event and those from Lintel 3 seem to be depicted in the scenes.

9.15.15.16.16 (May 2, 747)
Bonampak' panel: A Xuklan ahaw
acceded in a headdress ceremony *u*
kahi Yaxun-Balam at a place called
"Trumpet-stone." The scene shows
this lord holding his Sak Hunal
headband as he touches his shoul-
der in a gesture of subordination to
Yaxun-Balam.

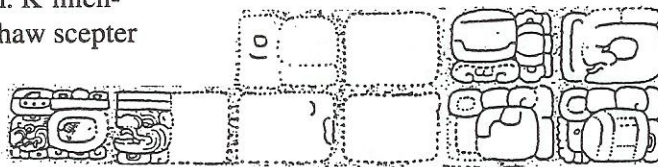
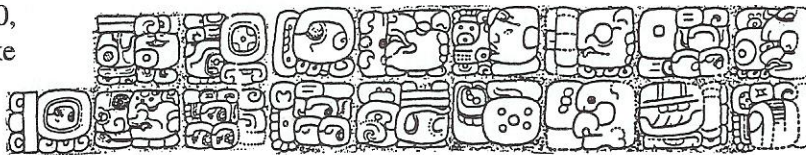


9.15.16.1.6 (Jun 21, 747): Yaxchilan L32:
Yaxun-Balam danced with *hasaw-chan*.

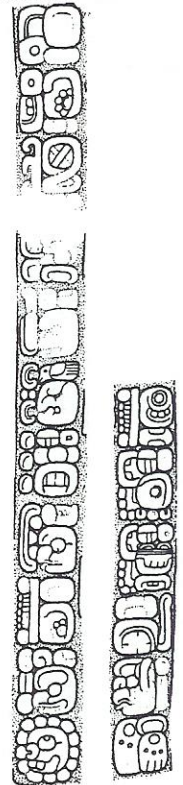


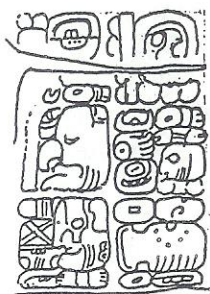
9.15.16.7.17 (Oct. 30,
747) Seibal HS: Smoke
entered into the
tomb (*muknal*) of
Tah-Mo'-Balam

Seibal ahaw *u kahi* Ich'ak-Balam. K'inich-
Balam, Seibal *ch'ok*, took the ahaw scepter
in company of K'awil-Chan-
K'inich of Dos Pilas.



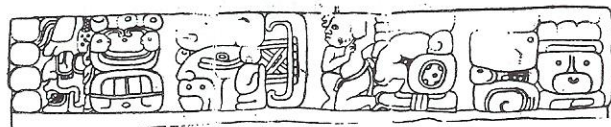
9.15.17.2.5 (Aug. 30, 748) Naj Tunich Drawing 19: This is
another spelling of Barbara's *pak-xi* "return" verb, followed
by a toponym "black hole" — perhaps a direct reference to
Naj Tunich — and the eroded name of the subject. He
returned with his *y-itah* "companion" Balam? Tok', who in
drawing 82 is called a divine king of Ixkun.



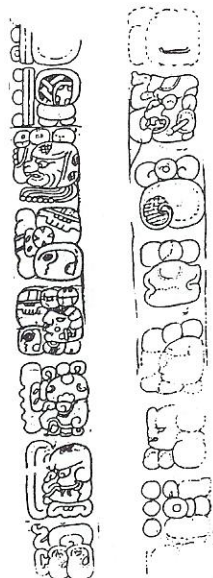


9.15.17.8.17 (Nov. 13, 748) Itzan 17: U Chan-Zotz' was presented an object called *ko-??m(o)*. This ceremony occurs at Dos Pilas as the first bloodletting of the heir. It is possible that the object named is a bloodletter.

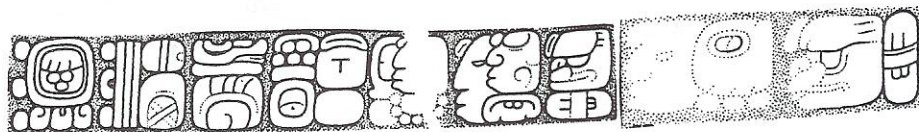
9.15.17.10.4 (Dec. 10, 748) Tikal BC marker 1: Chak-Toh-Waybi Wuk-Tzuk was flattened. This same name appears on pots of the same period from Naranjo. Its likely this man was a high noble of Naranjo.



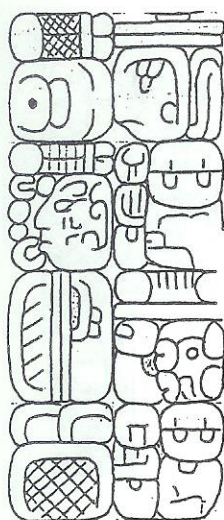
9.15.17.12.16 (Jan. 31, 749) Copan HS 41: Smoke-Monkey, the 14th successor, died.



9.15.17.13.10 11 Ok 13 Pop (749 Feb 14) Ven: -111. Copan base to Stela N: Butz'-Yip-Lah-Chan-K'awil became ahaw.

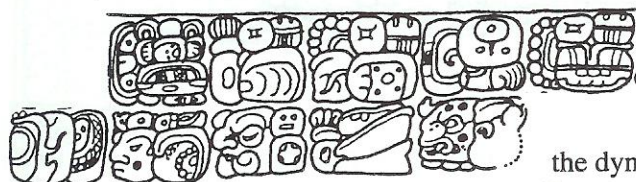


9.15.17.15.14 (Mar. 30, 749) Yaxchilan L59: Lady K'abal-Xok died.



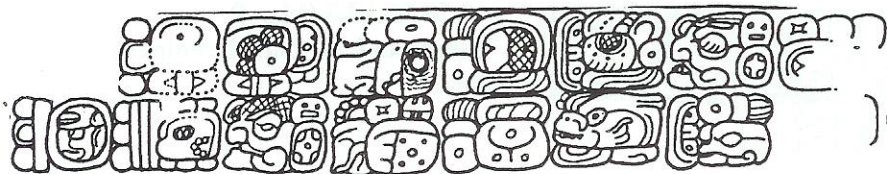
9.15.18.0.0 (May 15, 749) Doorjamb in the Museo Amparo: An unknown event done by a *sahal*.

Xkombec Column: The first part of the text deals with the dedication of the carving of the column (called *y-atz'ye*, "the erected tree of"). The second half of the text after the date parallels the text from a vase in Chochola style.



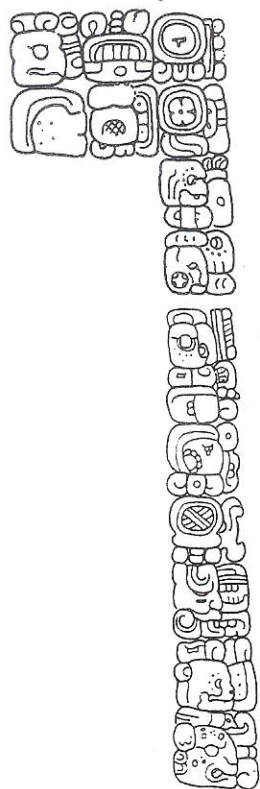
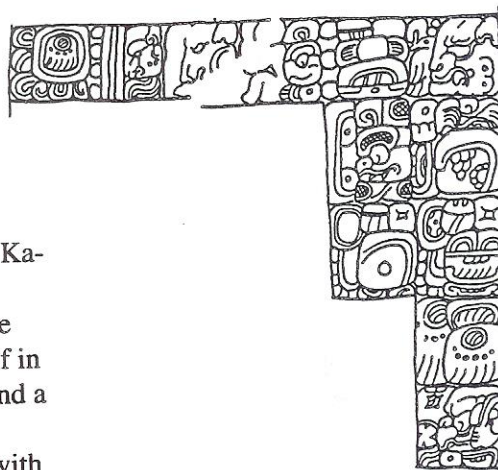
9.15.18.3.13 (Jul 27, 749) Piedras Negras Lintel 3: Ruler 4 celebrated his first k'atun in office. It was witnessed by Sak-Hukub Yat-Balam, a lord of Yaxchilan, who name included that of the founder the dynasty. He suggest he was a historical person who had an important role in the interregnum, but who does not appear in

Yaxchilan's inscriptions. We suspect this is because the entire view of this period was shaped by Yaxun-Balam at Yaxchilan. Only Piedras Negras records this person, because it was outside of Yaxun-Balam's control.

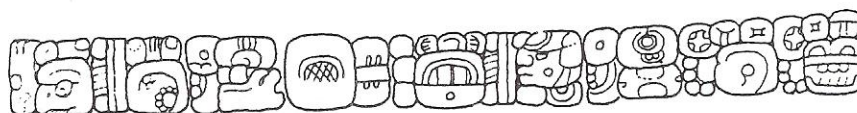


9.15.18.3.15 (Jul 29, 749) Piedras Negras Lintel 3: Ruler 4 performed the "descending macaw" dance and in the night , he took fermented kakaw. We suppose this is a reference to a ritual banquet attended by his Yaxchilan guests.

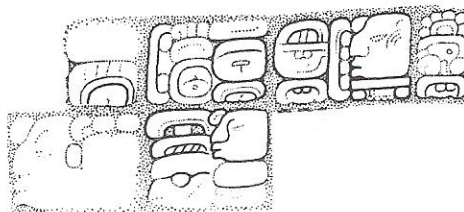
9.15.19.1.1 (May 31, 750) Yaxchilan Stela 11: Yaxun-Balam did an undeciphered event that is pictured as the display of his k'awil scepter over three captives as he wears the guise of Chak.



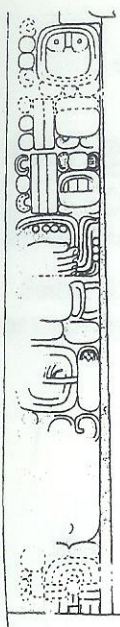
9.15.19.2.2 (Jun. 21, 750) Site R, L3: Ah Ka-Mo does a *xik balel ba* event with Yaxun-Balam. The verb seems to be in the reflexive and the sahal is doing the *xikbalel* to himself in front of his lord. He hold a flexible shield and a spear while Yaxun-Balam holds a battle banner. This same lord did the same event with Itzam-Balam and Yaxun-Balam on 9.14.13.10.8 when Yaxun-Balam was fifteen years old. He seems to be reiterating his action with Yaxun-Balam just before he was to become the king the king of Yaxchilan. He seem to be renewing fealty to the future king or preparing for war.



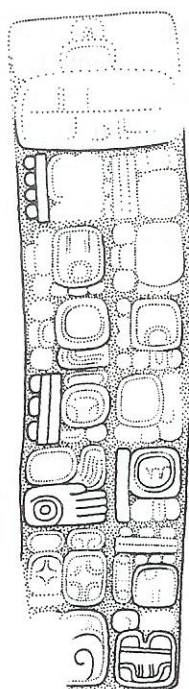
9.15.19.9.4 (Nov. 10, 750) Naj Tunich Drawing 70: An unknown event happened and was observed by someone.



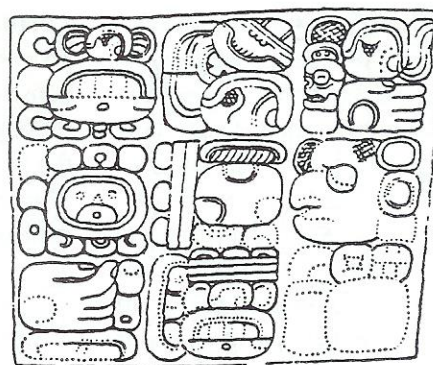
9.15.19.15.3 (Mar. 9, 751)
Yaxchilan L27: Lady Eveningstar died.



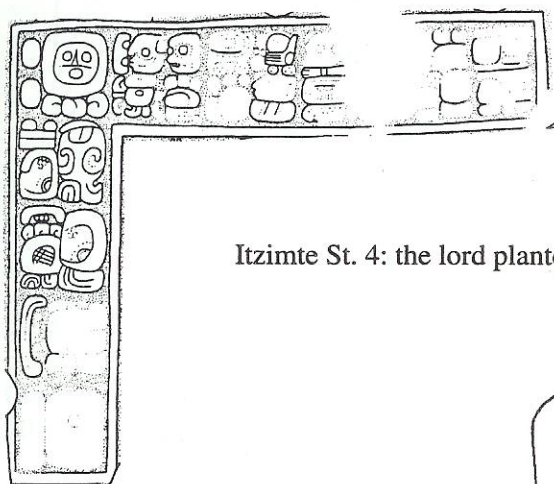
9.16.0.0.0 (May 5, 751) Tikal St. 20:
Yik'in-Chan-K'awil
(or his brother)
erected a stela in a
twin pyramid
complex.



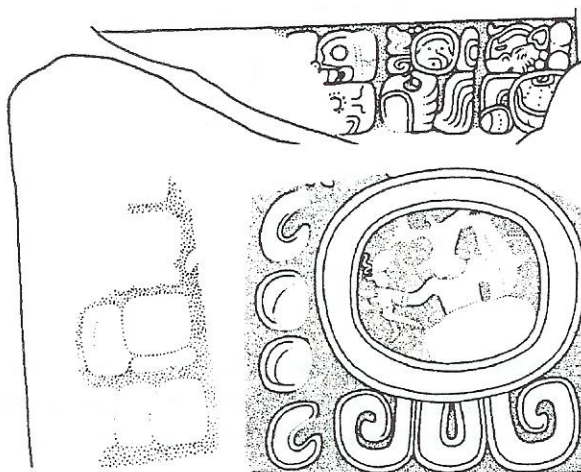
Waxaktun St. 2:
The ruler set the
stone.



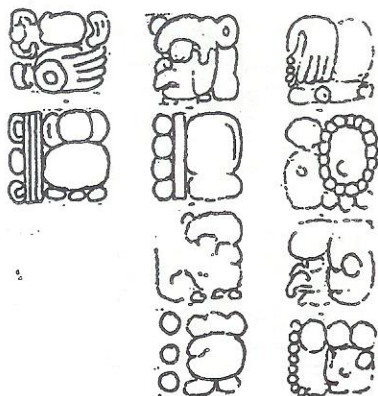
Piedras Negras Alt 1: Ruler 4 ended
the k'atun



Itzimte St. 4: the lord planted a stone.

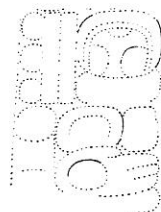


Itzimte St. 7: a stela with scene and text was
erected at this site.

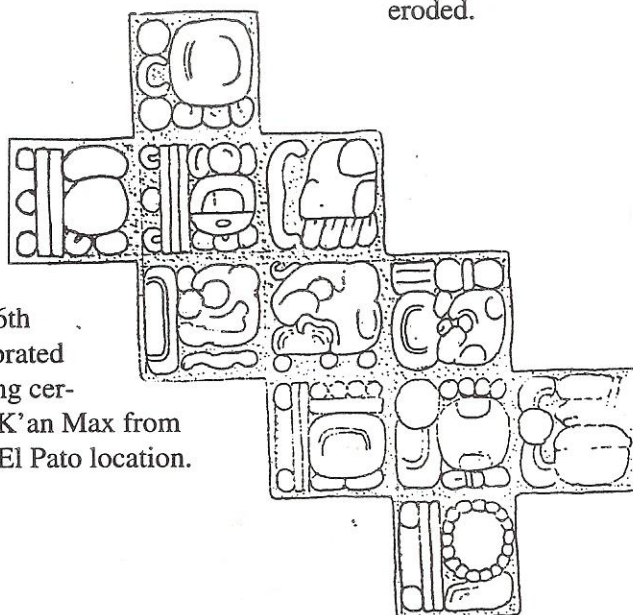


9.16.0.0.0 (May 5, 762) CAL St. 62: The completion of the sixteenth Tun by Kalomte Bolon-?-K'awil of Oxte Tun. This is the name of the monarch of Calakmul. Oxte Tun is the Calakmul toponym. Simon Martin and Nikolai believe that at Calakmul itself, the Oxte Tun toponym was used instead of the Kan emblem glyph. The text continues with a scattering event undertaken by a person who was a *k'ul ahaw* of a state with a "Bat" emblem.

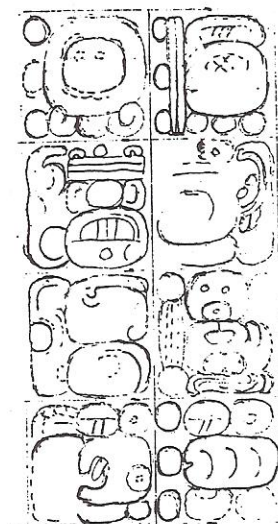
Uxbenka St. 22: The stone was placed. The last glyph could be the Uxbenka emblem glyph, but it is completely eroded.

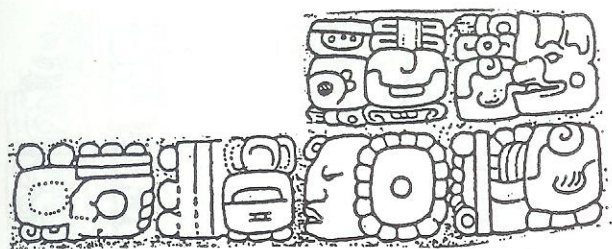


El Chorro
Altar 2: The 16th
K'atun is celebrated
with a scattering cer-
emony by Ah K'an Max from
the El Chorro/El Pato location.

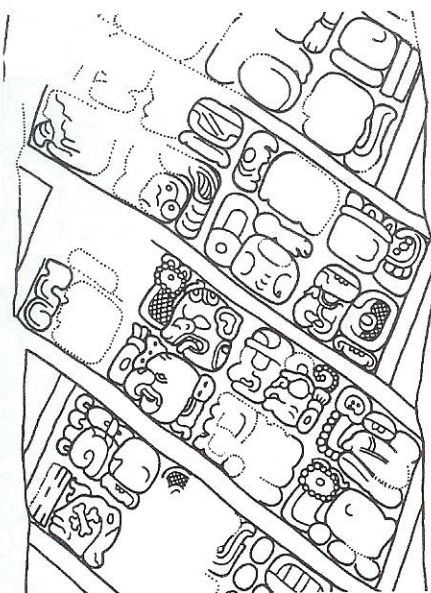


Aguacatal St. 1: The Lakamtun was planted by U Nik K'inich, divine *ahaw* of *yo-ke*, third reign(?). Aguacatal is a very small site in the Petén, not too far from Motul de San José. It is not clear whether this emblem is that of Aguacatal or of some other site.

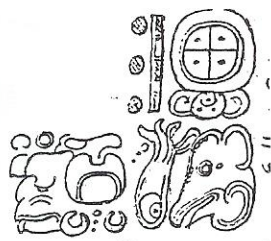




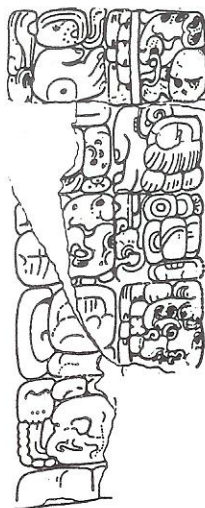
Seibal HS: the carving of the stairs was finished or made by Ahaw Mo', Ah Pulom (he the carver.)



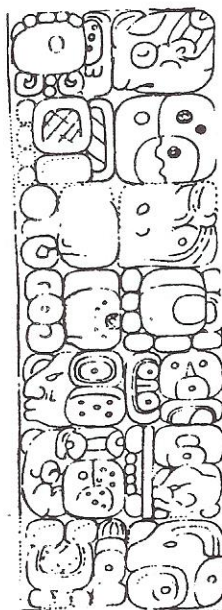
Quirigua St. H: This text follows the pattern of a mat like Stela J at Copan. It records the setting up of a stone at Ik' Nab Chan-kun, "Black-Sea Sky-seat." Butz'-Tiliw also scattered drops.



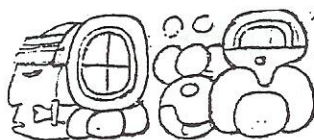
9.16.0.9.8 (Nov. 9, 751)
Bonampak' panel: there was a *loki u witz*, "emerged from his mountain," event.



Pomona new stela: This k'atun was ended by K'inich Ho-Balam, who was the ruler of Pomona. His name includes the phrase *yete*, "with," another person with jaguar in his name and the title *ch'a Sak-Hun*, "holder of the white headband." In turn, this person was the *yitah* or "companion of" K'inich Kan-Balam, Holy lord of Palenque.

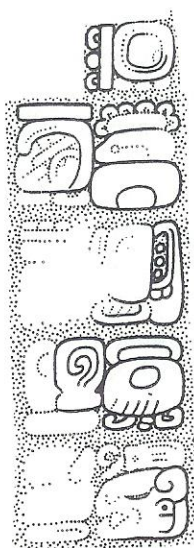


9.16.0.2.16 (Jun. 30, 751) El Cayo L1: Chan-Panak-Way was born. His mother's name appears to include the Yukom Kun title that usually goes with the king of Calakmul.

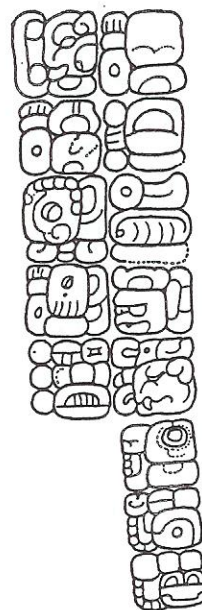
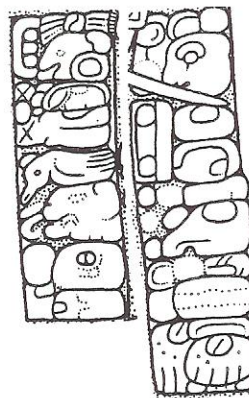
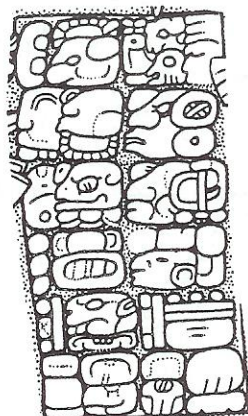
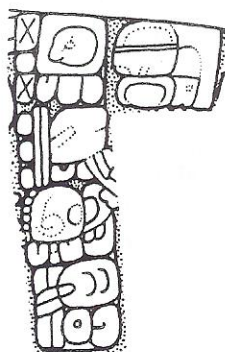
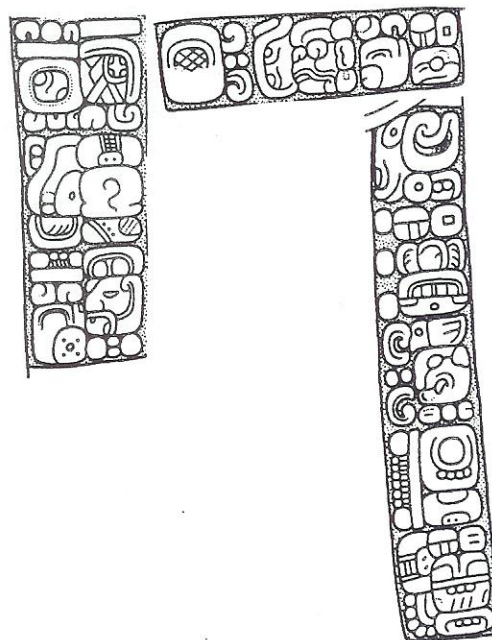


9.16.0.12.8 (Jan. 8, 752) Bonampak' panel: There was a placement or seating of something at Bonampak'. This same event is named on Bonampak' Panel 1 with an earlier king at 9.12.11.6.9. That passage announces that the event happened in a *kab-kun u witz*, "earth-seat, his mountain."





9.16.0.13.17 (Feb. 6, 752) Yaxchilan HS4, L16: Yaxun-Balam threw down either a place or an object and captured Kib-Tok' who was a sahal from a place called Wak'ab.



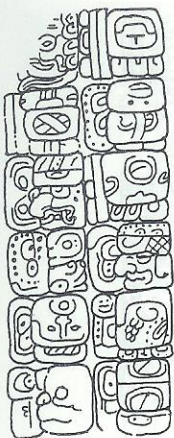
9.16.0.14.5 (Feb. 14, 752) Yaxchilan L13, 17; Yaxun-Balam, Chak-Kimi, and Lady Chak-Kimi called up a vision serpent in celebration of the birth of Chel-te Chan-K'inich.



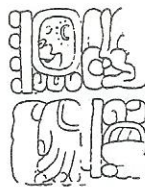
This phrase from Lintel 13 names Lady Mut-Balam, an Hix-Witz Ahaw as woman who let blood from her tongue on the occasion of the birth of Yaxun-Balam's son by Lady Chak-Kimi.



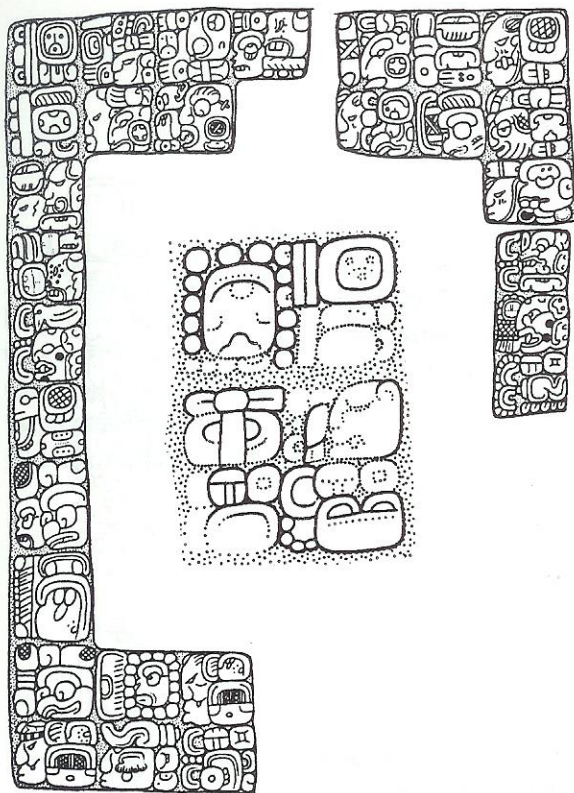
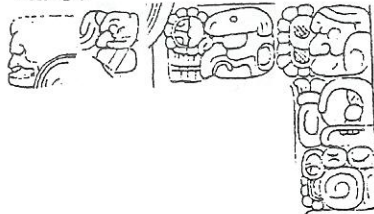
9.16.0.15.4 (Mar. 4, 752) Bonampak' panel: An object is the taking of some object by the local lord in the company of someone named Ah Witz.



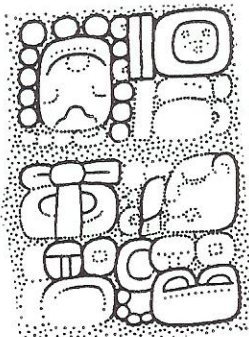
9.16.0.16.2 (Mar. 22, 752) Comacalco brick: Akul-Anab of Palenque dedicated a *lak*. *Lak* usually refers to plates, but here it must be a reference to the clay brick itself. There is a *dn* of 6.0 recorded that may lead to a second date on 9.16.1.4.2. However no *cr* is recorded for this date.



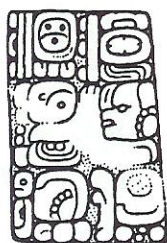
9.16.0.16.12 (Apr. 1, 752): Saenz Panel: The *lc* position is not secure, but this is one of the better possibilities. The event is a dedication event.



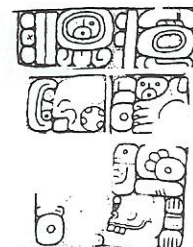
9.16.1.0.0 (Apr. 29, 752) Yaxchilan various: Yaxun-Balam acceded at Yaxchilan

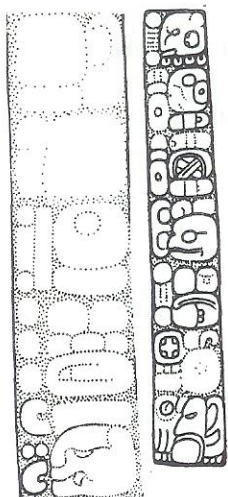


9.16.1.0.9 (May 8, 752) Yaxchilan Lintel 21: Yaxun-Balam burned incense to dedicated a building called Chan-Xunal.

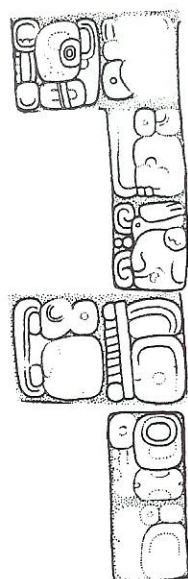
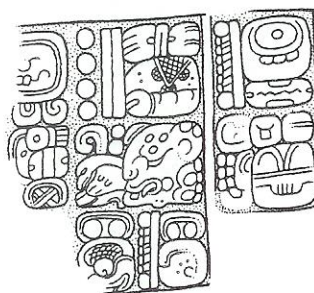


9.16.1.2.0 (Jun 8, 752) Yaxchilan L5, L42: Yaxun-Balam danced the *xukpi* with Lady Wak-Halam-Chan-Ahaw of Motulde San José; he also danced and received a *k'awil* in the company of K'an-Tok; he also probably let blood.



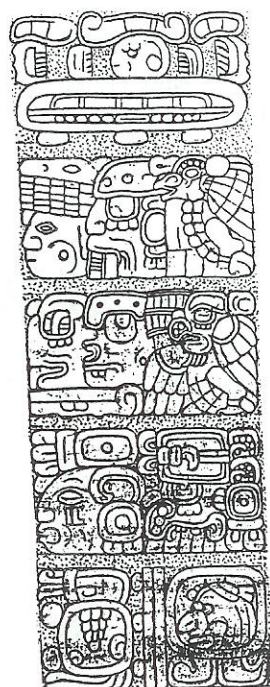


9.16.1.8.6 (Oct. 12, 752)
Yaxchilan L6, L43: Yaxun-Balam
dance the *chak k'at* with K'an-Tok,
the first sahal of the kingdom. He
also danced with Lady Mutul-
Balam from Hix-Witz.



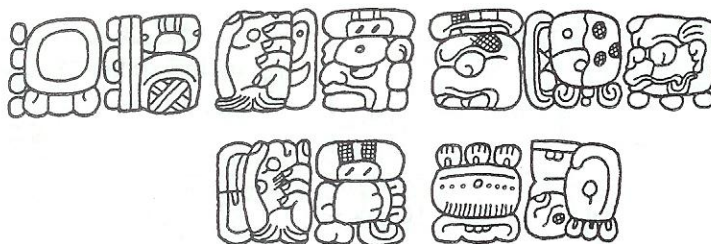
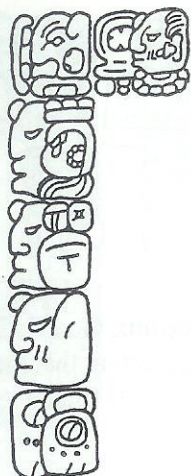
9.16.1.8.8 (Oct. 14,
752) Yaxchilan L7:
Yaxun-Balam dances
with one of his wives.

9.16.1.13.17 (Jan. 3, 753) Site R:
This lintel was looted from a site
somewhere near Yaxchilan. It
records a dance performed by a local
lord who was a subordinate of
Yaxun-Balam of Yaxchilan.



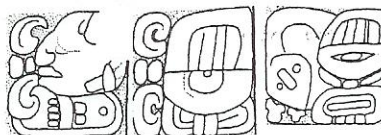
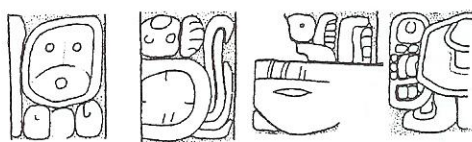
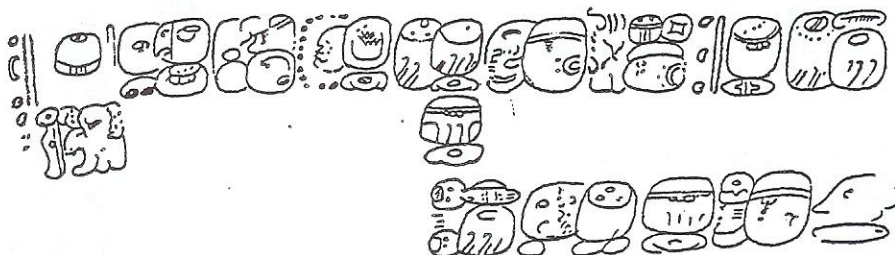
9.16.2.0.0 (Apr. 24, 753) Column
in the Hecelchakan Museum: This
is an abbreviated IS date combined
with a Tun-Ahaw statement. No
verbs.



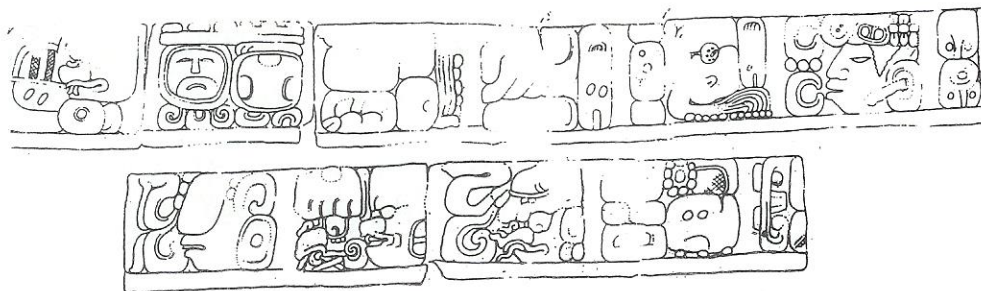


9.16.3.16.19 (Mar. 24, 755) Yaxchilan L15: Lady Wak-Halam-Chan-Ahaw of Motul de San José conjured a vision serpent.

9.16.3.10.4 (Nov. 13, 754)
Naj Tunich Drawing 66: The black-?-earth Mopan location was visited by Mam Chan Ak from the Tok' Tun location. The text continues with the signature of a scribe.

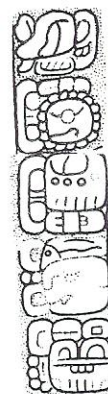
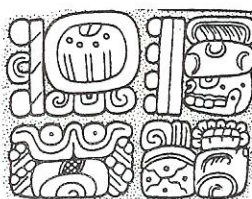


9.16.4.0.0 (Apr. 14, 755) MNAH, Mexico, Doorjamb: The date is only partly preserved, but seems to be "the 4th Tun in K'atun 13 Ahaw = 9.17.0.0.0). The rest of the text is opaque.

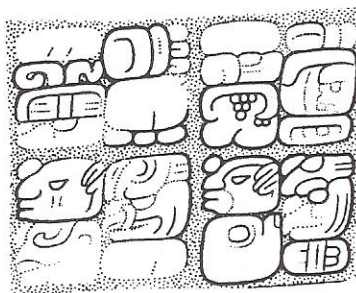


9.16.4.1.0 (755 May 4): Copan HS Stp 38: Was formed, the stair of, the stone of Smoke-Imix-God K. This is the dedication of the top part of the hieroglyphic stairs. David Stuart has made a good argument that the text was erected in two parts: one by Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil and the other by Butz'-Yip-Lah-Chan-K'awil.

9.16.4.1.1 (May 5, 755) Yaxchilan L8, L41: Yaxun-Balam captured Jeweled-Skull, in the company the captor Kot-Ahaw K'an-Tok Waybi, who had captured Kot-Ahaw in the same battle. This day fell on the zenith passage. Lady Wak-Halam-Chan-Ahaw of Motul de San José helped him prepare for battle.



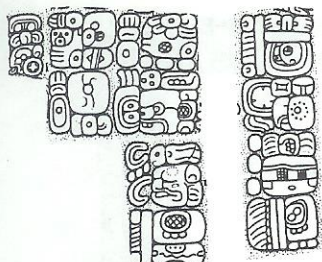
9.16.4.1.5 (May 13, 755) Naj Tunich Drawing 28: Mopan was visited by Mam Na Chan Ak from the Tok' Tun location, his companion Wayas Mal Chan Ak Itz'at, also from Tok' Tun, and a third companion, Waxak Hanal Ak, also from the same location.



9.16.4.6.17 (Aug. 29, 755): Yaxchilan L28: The tomb of Lady K'abal-Xok was dedicated.

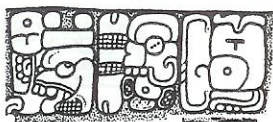
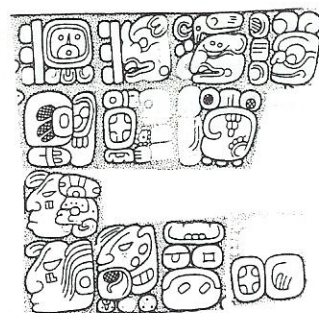
9.16.4.10.18 (Nov. 18, 755) Naranjo St. 6: K'ak'-Chakte Chan-Chak acceded.



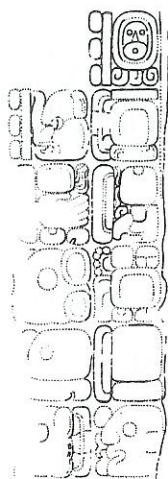


9.16.5.0.0 (Apr. 8, 756)
Yaxchilan L3: Yaxun-Balam
dances with a sahal named
K'in-Mo' Ahaw.

Yaxchilan L54: Yaxun-
Balam also danced with
his wife, Lady Chak-
Kimi



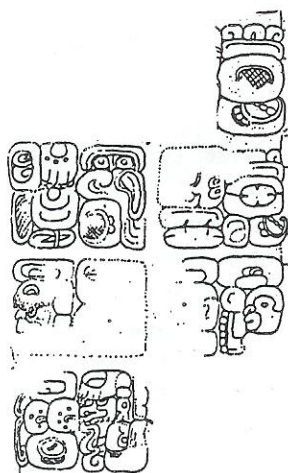
Yaxchilan L58: Yaxun-Balam's
brother-in-law, Chak-Kimi, also
participated in the rituals along with
one of his subordinantes.



Piedras Negras St.
22: Ruler 5 set the
tun.



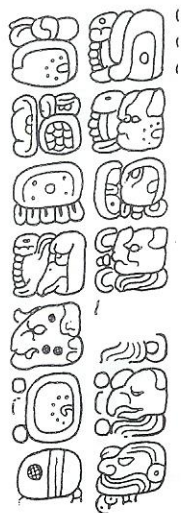
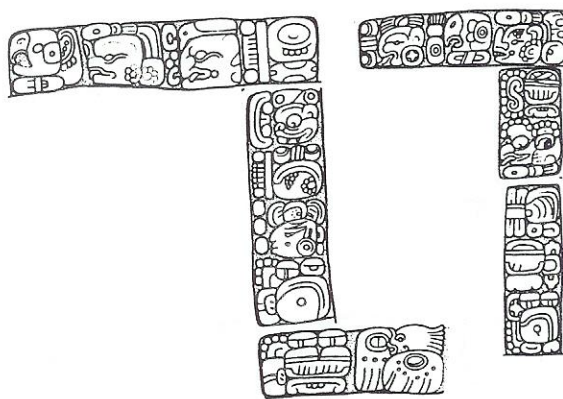
Quirigua St. J:
Butz'-Tiliw scattered
drops and planted
Stela J. He harvested
his tongue and called
a vision serpent.



Copan Stela M: Butz'-Yip-
Lah-Chan-K'awil (the 15th
ruler) set up Stela M. He
cached offerings and brought
out the gods.

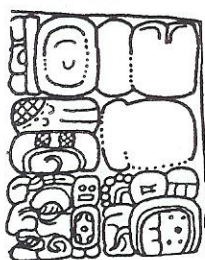
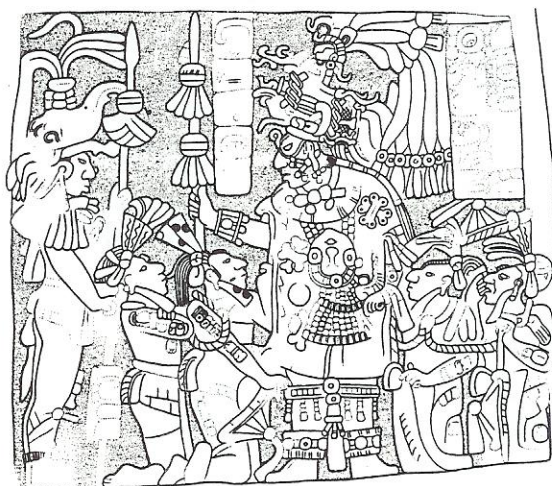


9.16.6.0.0 (Apr. 3, 757) Yaxchilan L2: Yaxun-Balam celebrates his fifth tun in office with his son, Chel-Te-Chan-K'inich. They danced the xukpi dance.



9.16.6.10.19 (Nov. 8, 757) Piedras Negras Lintel 3: Yaxun-Balam of Yaxchilan did some action at Piedras Negras.

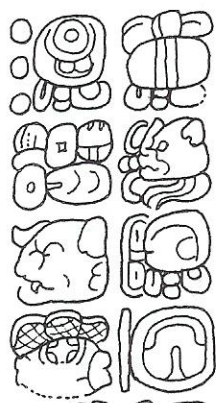
9.16.6.11.0 (Nov. 8, 757) Yaxchilan Lintel 12: The text is destroyed but Yaxun-Balam appears with four captives and a subordinate lord. This suggests that the Piedras Negras event had a war association.



9.16.6.11.17 (Nov. 26, 757) Piedras Negras Lintel 3: Ruler 4 died. Perhaps he did of a wound taken in the battle in which Yaxun-Balam participated.



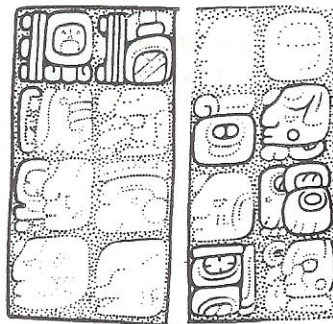
9.16.6.12.0 (Nov. 29, 757) Piedras Negras L3: Ruler 4 was buried in "Five Flower Mountain."



9.16.6.12.2 (Dec. 1, 757) Piedras Negras Lintel 3: Piedras records the accession of Yaxun-Balam of Yaxchilan with a *hokah ti ahawle* expression. This event took place *u kahi*, "under the auspices of," Ruler 4 of Piedras Negras. This statement appears to be Piedras Negras's acknowledgement of Yaxun-Balam's right to rule Yaxchilan, but notice that it took place two days after the high king of Piedras Negras was buried. Moreover, the Piedras Negras people chose to record this event, and not the Yaxchilan participants. This tells the event was more important at Piedras Negras than at Yaxchilan.

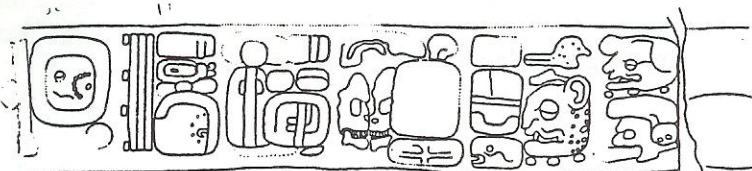
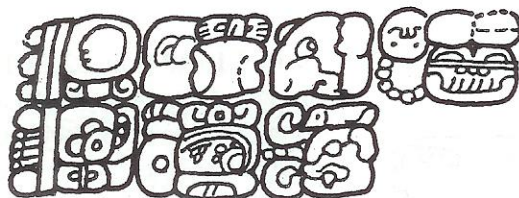


9.16.6.17.1
(Mar 10, 758)
Piedras Negras
St. 14.: Ruler 5
acceded.

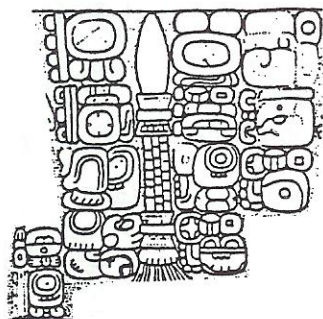


9.16.7.0.0 (Mar. 29,
758) Yaxchilan L40:
Lady Mutul-Balam
conjured K'awil.

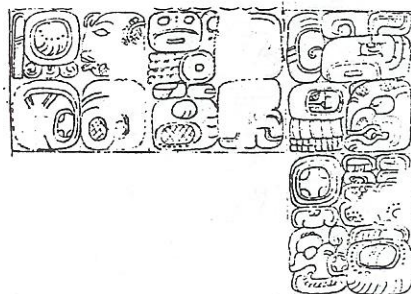
9.16.7.9.2 (Sep 27, 758)
Yaxchilan St. 9: Yaxun-
Balam danced with cloth
flaps hanging from his
loincloth. The dance was
called *yukul ch'o* or *yukul
hi*.



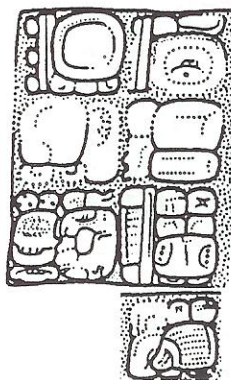
9.16.8.8.6 (Sep 6, 759) Tamarindito HS: Chanal-Balam came out in ahawship.



9.16.8.16.1 (Feb. 8, 760)
Sacul 9: he took the pach of a
palanquin in the company of
Itzam-Balam of Ucanal.



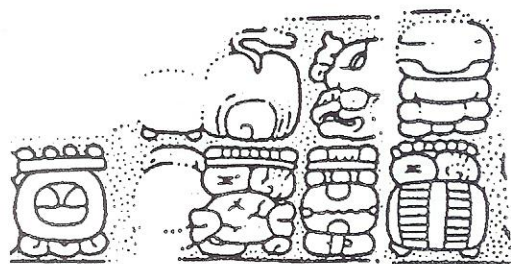
9.16.8.16.0 (Feb. 7, 760)
Yaxchilan L2: Yaxun-
Balam took a captive and
displayed him in the
presence of the sahal
named Tilom.



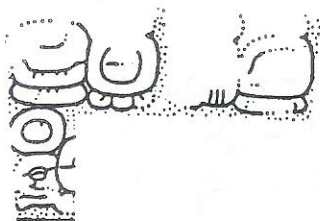
9.16.9.4.19 (June 25, 760) LAM HS 1: La
Chan K'awilnal was born. Note that this lord
from La Amelia uses the *mutul* emblem
glyph at the same time as the Aguateca lords.



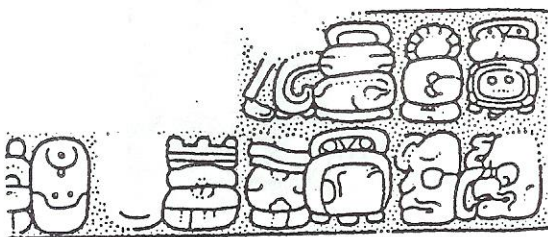
9.16.9.14.3 (Dec. 26, 760)
Tamarindito HS. 2: An unknown event.



9.16.9.15.3 (Jan. 15, 761) Tamarindito
HS: K'awil-Chan-K'inich was forced out.
We take this text to record his exile from



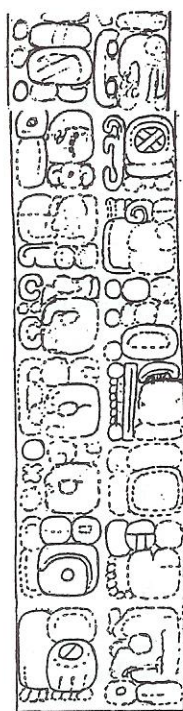
9.16.9.15.9 (Jan. 21, 761)
Tamarindito HS: an unreadable action occurred
to a K'in-Balam?



9.16.9.15.10 (Jan. 22, 761) Tamarindito HS: The kaan-kun was destroyed (ch'ak) and the tok'-pakal of the itz'at-person was downed (hubi) u kahi GI-K'awil, the patron gods of the Petex-Batun polity. The local king of Tamarindito, Chanal-Balam, was the agent of the destruction. The ch'ak event took place against the kaan-kun or most sacred center of Dos Pilas, and the tok'-pakal thrown down belonged to the itz'at winik or "knowledgable people." We think this last reference is to the nobility of Dos Pilas as a whole, because K'awil-Chan, the king of Dos



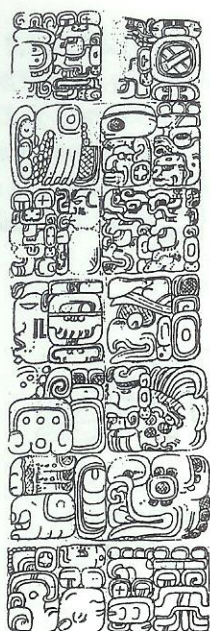
9.16.10.0.0 (Mar. 13, 761):
Quirigua St. F: Butz' Tiliw planted
Stela F and scattered drops.



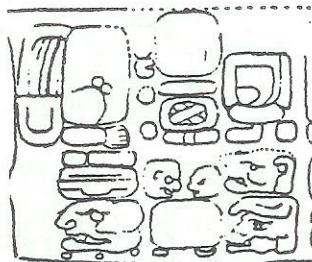
Yaxchilan St. 1:
Yaxun-Balam
scattered drops.

Copan Stela N:
Butz'-Yip-Lah-Chan-
K'awil set up the
Yax-Pasah Chak
Tzuk stela.





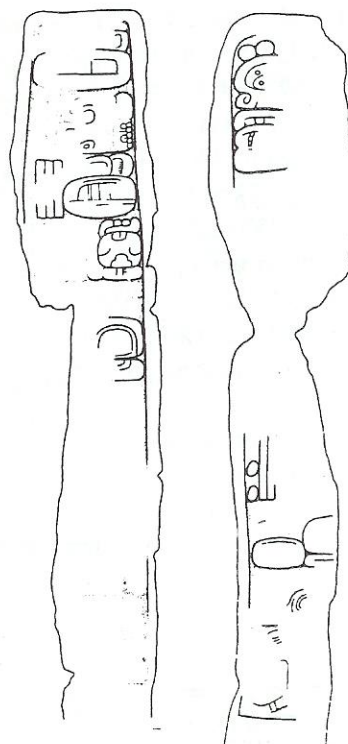
Sacul 1: drops were scattered (by the local ruler) in companionship with a series of gods including the Paddlers.



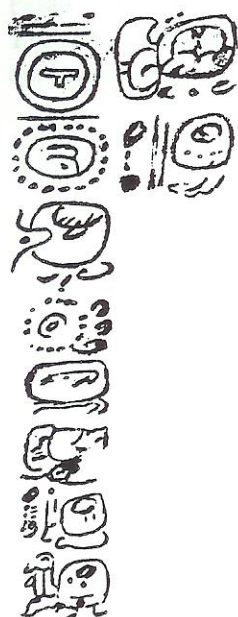
Tamarindito HS:
Chanal-Balam celebrated the period ending.



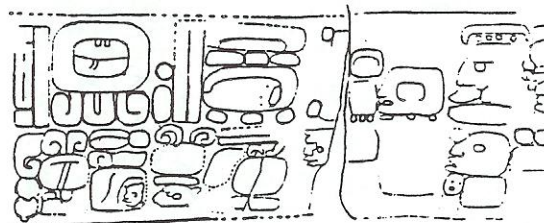
El Chal St. 4: there was a scattering by Itzam-Balam of Ucanal?



Xultun St. 24: Except for the date, no information is left.

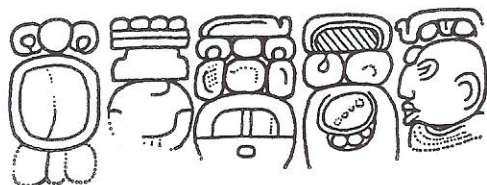
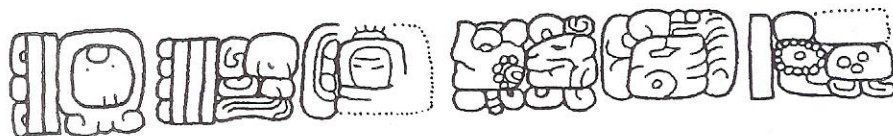
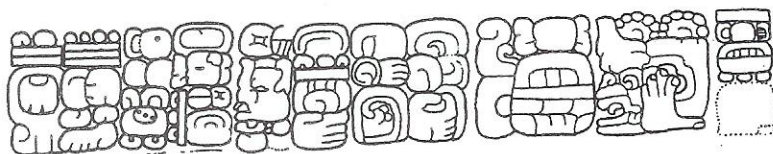


9.16.10.5.2 (June 27, 761) Naj Tunich
Drawing 24: Mopan was visited by a person from Ah-?-ni Witz, the companion of Ah-?-ni.

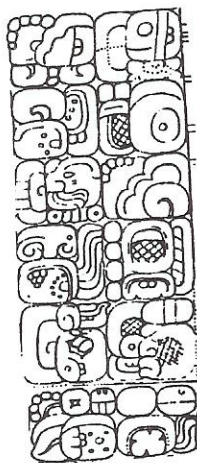
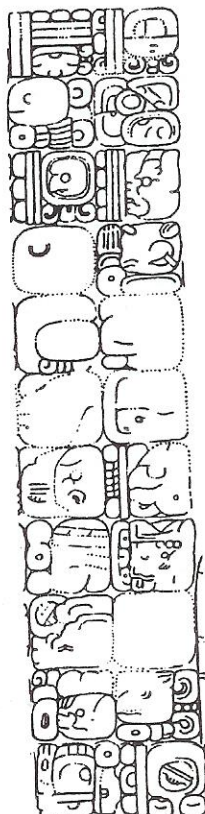


9.16.11.7.13 (Aug. 8, 762) Tamarindito HS: Smoke entered the tomb of someone ??

9.16.11.13.1 (Nov. 24, 762)
 Quirigua E, O',P': *ch'am*, "he
 received," the *K'in-Kuch-*
Balam Xukuy (or *Xkuy*) *Ahaw*
palanquin u kahi ch'ahom. The
 palanquin was taken from the
 same site that Waxaklahun-
 Ubah-K'awil burned on
 9.14.6.5.9 (Feb. 16, 718). The
 name may be either *xu-ku-y(a)*
 or as Looper proposed *X-kuy*,
 or the "place of the owl." At
 Copan and Quirigua, this
 toponym includes Six-Shell-in-
 hand-place in the name. We have no indication of where this place was, but it had to have been in range of
 both Copan's and Quirigua's army and to have been attacked by both antagonists sometime during their
 history.

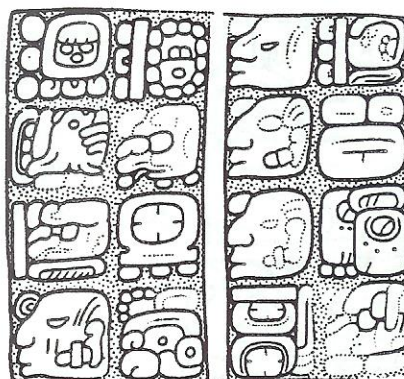
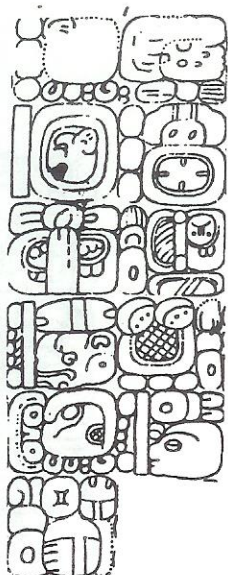


9.16.11.15.16 (Jan. 18, 763) Altar in the Maegli Collection:
 This is the first Tun anniversary of the accession of Ah K'an
 Max of El Chorro. The text reads *kawah u ahawni*, "the second
wah (?) of his becoming king".



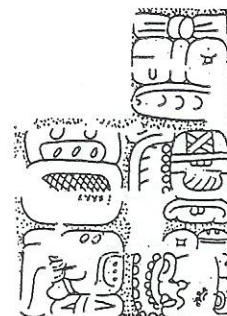
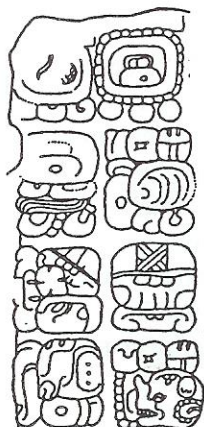
9.16.12.2.6 (Apr. 18, 763) El Cayo L1: There is an
 eroded series of events, including one that happened to
 a person from Sak Tz'i; the dedication of a structure,
 the death of someone; his burial in the *kun* of Yinil, and
 finally the dedication or veneration of the place name
 prominently recorded on Piedras Negras Throne 1. This
 veneration took place in the company of Ruler 5 of
 Piedras Negras.

9.16.12.4.10 (Jun 1,
763) El Cayo L1: Ah
Chak-Zotz' K'utim
came out in sahalship
u kahi Ah Sak-Zotz',
Sak Tz'i Ahaw.

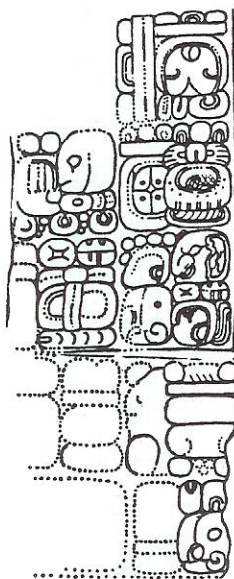


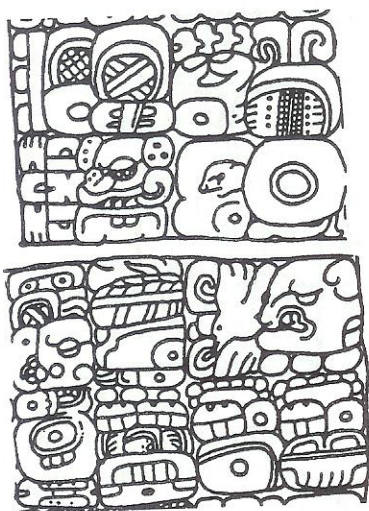
9.16.12.5.14 (Jun 25, 763)
Yaxchilan L39: Yaxun-Balam's wife,
Lady Wak-Tun of Motul de San José
conjured a k'awil.

9.16.12.5.17 (763 Jun 28)
Copan Altar U: Yax-Pasah
was seated in ahawship;
Copan T11 bench: Yax-
Pasah came out in ahawship.
T11 pan: Yax-Pasah came
out in ahawship.

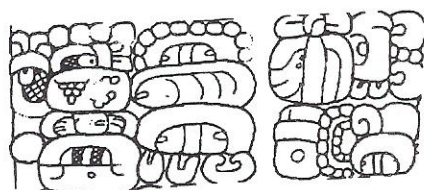


9.16.12.10.8 (Sep.
27, 763) Piedras
Negras St.16: A
subordinate lord
from "Rabbit-Stone"
acceded into ahawship.





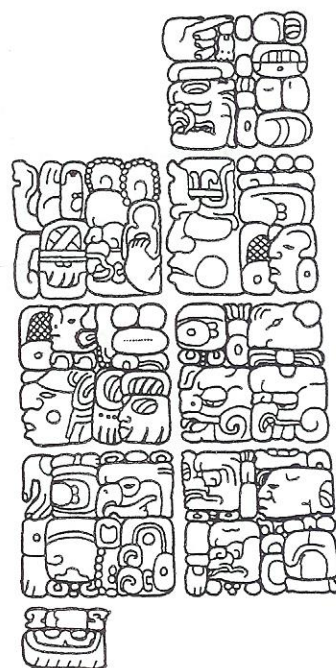
9.16.13.0.0 (Feb. 26, 764)
Yaxchilan L30: Smoke
entered the K'inich Itzam
Nah Chum?? Peten, the
House of Yaxun-Balam.



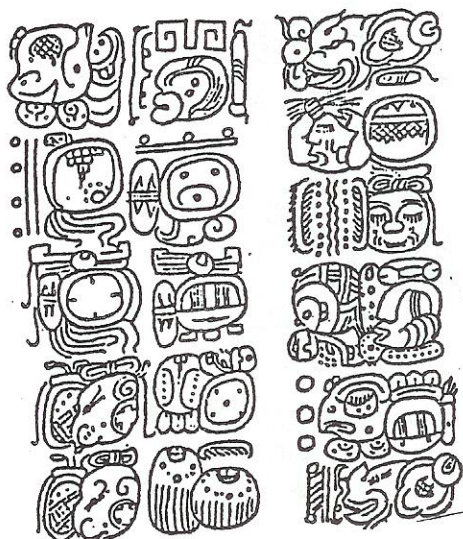
9.16.13.12.1 (764 Oct 24) Copan
Altar F': Yax-Pasah came out
from the *hulnal*. *Hul* can mean "to
arrive," "to perforate," and "to
carve." We do not know which
meaning was intended, but the
events on this altar are related to a
statue made of clay that was
constructed 24 tuns after this date.



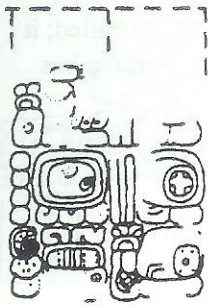
9.16.13.0.7 (Mar. 4,
764) Palenque 96G:
K'uk'-Balam was seated
in Ahawship.



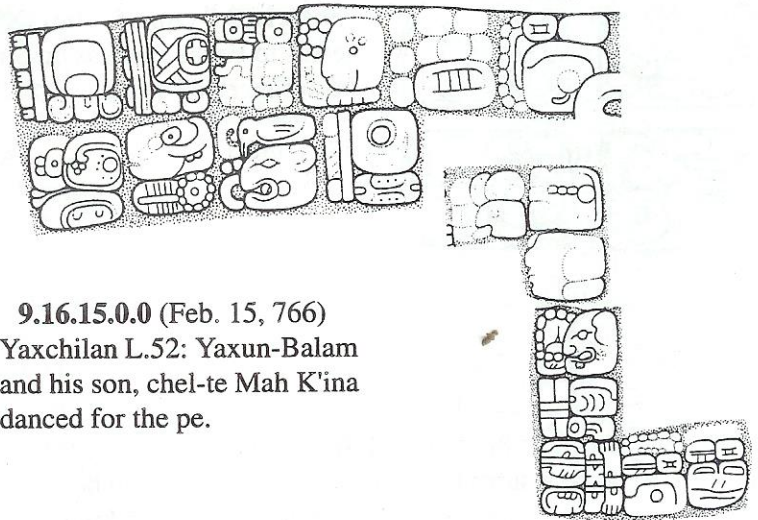
9.16.13.4.17 (June 2, 764):
Quirigua St.D: Butz'-Tiliw
completed two K'atuns of
reign and manifested a Vision
Serpent.



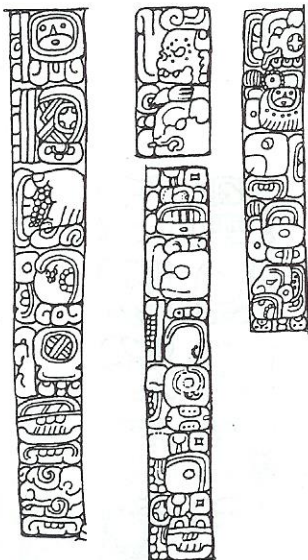
9.16.14.0.0 (Feb. 20, 765) Incised Vase from
the XCM region: It was recorded the writing
of the 14th Tun in K'atun 13 Ahaw. The
glyphs that follow are difficult to understand.
The superfixes over the K'in and Tun glyphs
are not the *hi*-knot. Nikolai wonders whether
this might be a reference to "count of days,
count of years". The following four glyphs are
part of a couplet which also occurs on a
column from Xkombec: *tu bah ?-oh ab, tu bah
bakab*, "for ?-oh ab, for the bakab". ?-oh ab
seems to be a specific title at Xcalumkin. The
next column of glyphs is a very elaborate
scribal signature. The same scribe is recorded
on Lintel 1 from the Initial Series Building.



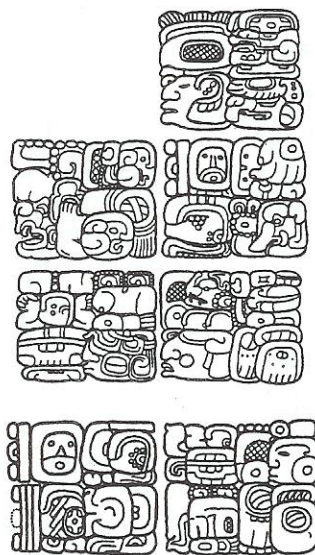
9.16.14.17.17 (Feb. 12, 766)
Tikal T6: Smoke entered the
waybil shrine taken by the 28th
king in the succession.



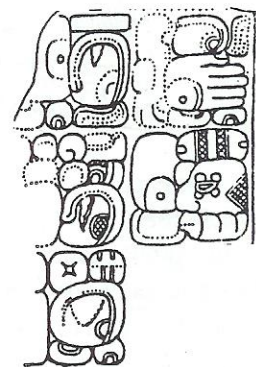
9.16.15.0.0 (Feb. 15, 766)
Yaxchilan L.52: Yaxun-Balam
and his son, chel-te Mah K'ina
danced for the pe.



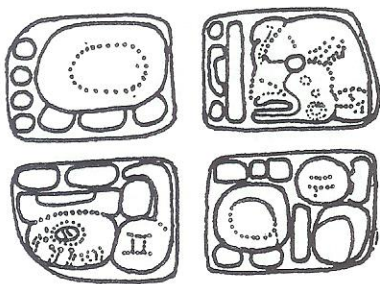
La Pasadita Lintel 1:
Yaxun-Balam scattered in
the presence of Tilom, the
sahal in charge of La
Pasadita.



Quirigua St.D: Butz' Tiliw planted
Stela D. He scattered drops and
witnessed the period-ending. Stela D
records that someone was "ahawed"
on this date, but the context and the
actor is not clear.

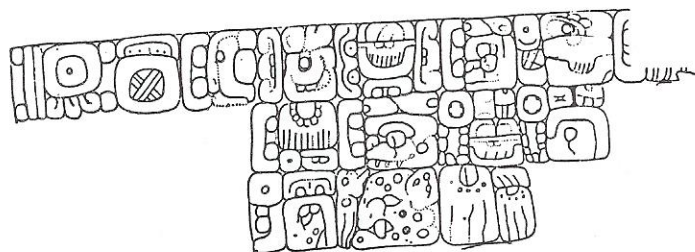
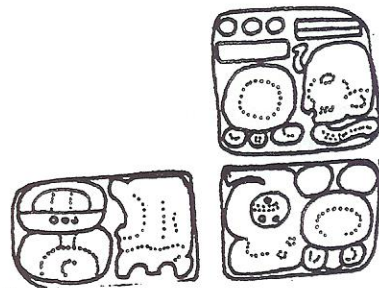


Piedras Negras St.16:
Ruler 5 set the tun.



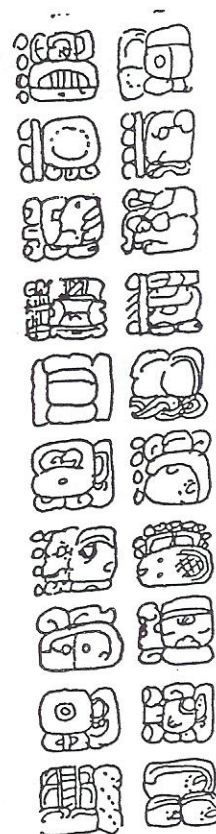
9.16.15.2.9 (Apr. 5, 766) IXK St. 12: Only the verb can be identified; it seems to be the same as on Site Q Glyphic Panel 12, but no reading has been suggested so far.

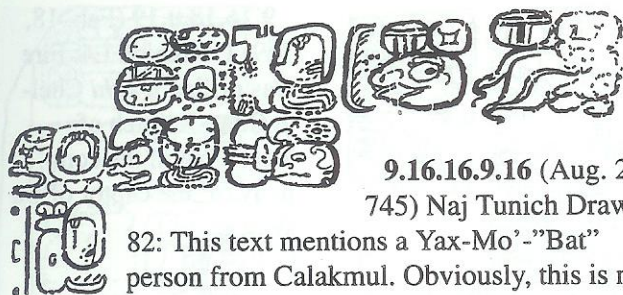
9.16.15.4.12 (May 18, 766) IXK St. 12: The verb here is the "Tun-yi"-verb. Because it substitutes for the 819DC-verb, and because it is often used before "throne" glyphs, it must record some kind of "seating" or "positioning". The agent of this verb cannot be identified.



9.16.16.0.9 (Feb. 23, 767) Yaxchilan region (Netherland Lintel) : On this date Yaxun-Balam adorned (nawah) a captive named Star-Sky. The captive holds his hand to his shoulder in a gesture of submission that may indicated that he accepted subordination to Yaxun-Balam.

9.16.16.4.16
(May 17, 767)
Cancuen looted:
Tah-Chan-Ak
conjured K'awil in
an elaborate
ceremony involv-
ing the Three-stone
pyramid also
recorded on Tikal
St. 26.

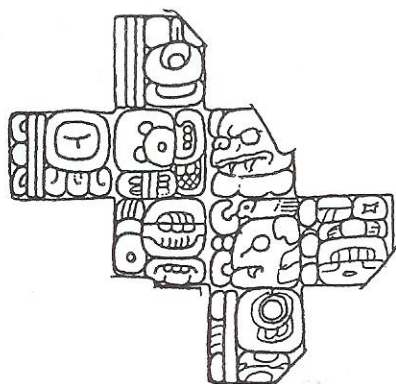
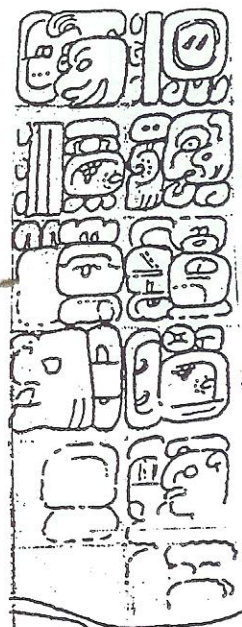




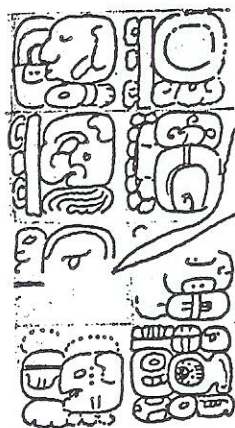
9.16.16.9.16 (Aug. 29,
745) Naj Tunich Drawing

82: This text mentions a Yax-Mo' - "Bat" person from Calakmul. Obviously, this is not a divine *ahaw*. The possible Calakmul reference is paired with a reference to an *ahaw* from another polity, a polity mentioned on Kerr 791 and a Stela from Aguacatal, close to Motul de San José. Is the Yax Mo' - "Bat" name related to the person who is the subject of the scattering event on Calakmul Stela 62?

9.16.16.11.5 (Sep.
23, 767) Itzan 17:
Fire was drilled by
the captor of Ek'-
Chih, Lakamtun
Ahaw.

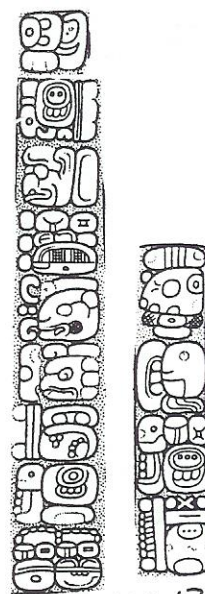


9.16.16.12.2 (Oct. 10, 767)
Site R, L4: Yaxun-Balam
danced with sky-snakes in the
presence of Ah Ka-Mo'.



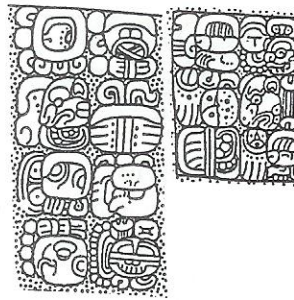
9.16.17.4.18 (May 13,
768) Itzan 17: was
downed Ah Na, the
captive of the Captor of
Zotz'.

9.16.17.6.12 (Jun. 16, 768)
Yaxchilan Lintel 9: Yaxun-
Balam and Chak-Kimi dance
the hasaw-chan dance.

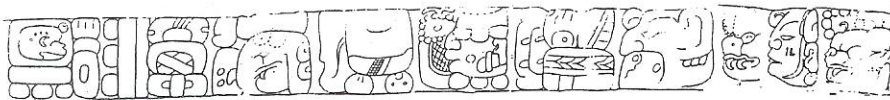




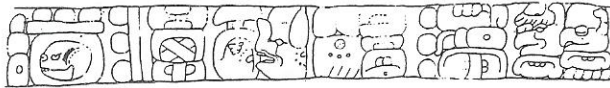
9.16.17.16.4
(Dec. 25, 768)
Tikal St. 19: Yax-Ain acceded.



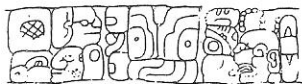
9.16.18.0.19 (Feb. 18, 769) Laxtunich L4: Fire was drilled *u kahi* Chelte Chan-K'inich of Yaxchilan in the company of the captor of Ba Way.



9.16.18.2.12 (769 Mar 23)
Copan T11 pan: Butz'-Yip-Lah-Chan-K'awil formed

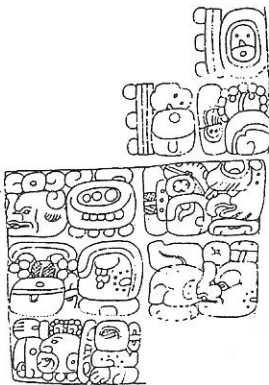


something. Copan Reviewing Stand: *Wawah yol*, "seated the hole of Yax-Pasah, the successor of Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil. *Na xuk ??ab ??? ox witik chan-kun*: this is some action at Ox Witik. Yax-Pasah



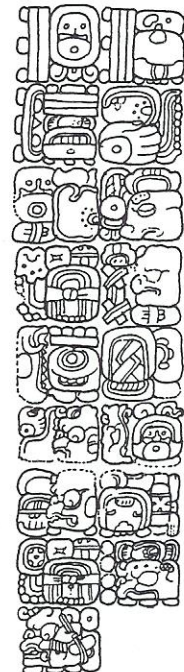
formed (*patwan*) his ballcourt.

This event is the dedication or formation of a portal in the form of the reviewing stand on the south side of Temple 11. The actor is Yax-Pasah and the reviewing stand is identified as a false ballcourt as Mary Miller first proposed.



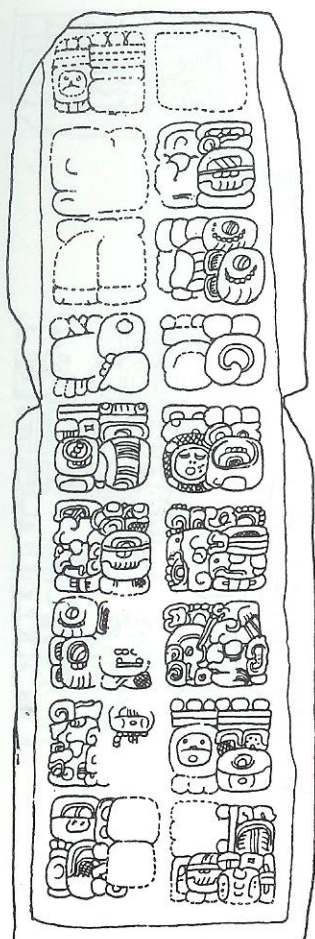
9.16.18.9.19 (769 Aug 17) Copan Altar Z: the carving on the altar was made sacred. It was the *patab* (made thing) of Yax-Pasah.

9.17.0.0.0 (Jan 20, 771): Tikal St. 19: Yax-Ain erected a stela in a twin pyramid complex called Flower Mountain. This fell on an eclipse station with a 8% visible eclipse at Tikal followed fifteen days later by a 96% umbral eclipse of the moon.

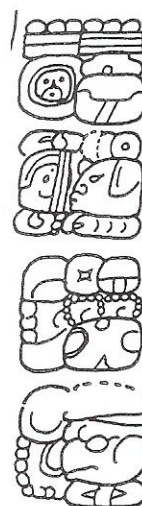


Copan Reviewing Stand: *awal pat k'ul hul ??a*, "formed the holy bloodletter." No actor is named and it is possible that this event was meant to refer to the dedication of the reviewing stand.

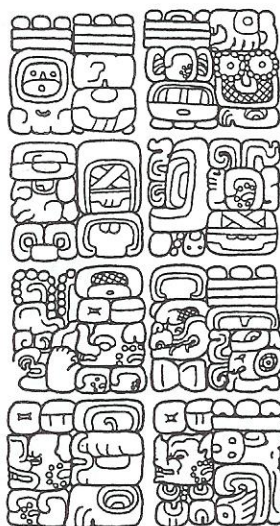
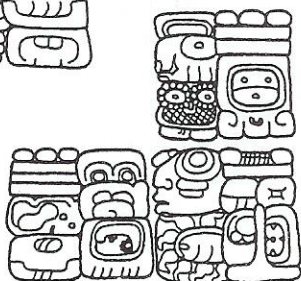
9.17.0.0.0 (Jan 20, 771):



Seibal St.6: There was a series of actions involving a Tok'-pakal of Chak, lord of Mutul, the patron gods of the Petex-Batun polity, and the local lord, who erected (*tz'ap*) a stone. One of the titles in the sequence is *u chan anal k'ul itz'at bakab*. At Tamarindito, the *tok'-pakal* that was downed during the defeat of Dos Pilas was called the tok'-pakal of the *itz'at winik*. This reference to the "guardian of the *anal k'ul itz'at*" occurs in a passage with a destroyed date. We suspect that the date at the head of this text might even have been the date of the defeat of Dos Pilas.



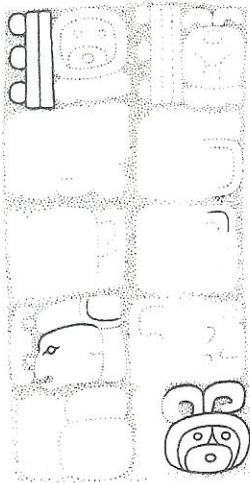
Seibal St.7: A-To-??-Ahaw
K'ul Itz'at came in ahawship.



Quirigua St.E: Butz'-Tiliw planted the stela and scattered drops. The text also records *u but'* ("to cover" or "to fill"). The verb is followed by a name phrase that should refer to the eclipse predicted for this day. The age of the moon on this monument repeats the verb recorded in the Dresden Codex eclipse tables for the same day (as first noted by Dave Kelley). Although the eclipse was not visible at Quirigua, it was confirmed fifteen days later by a total lunar eclipse.

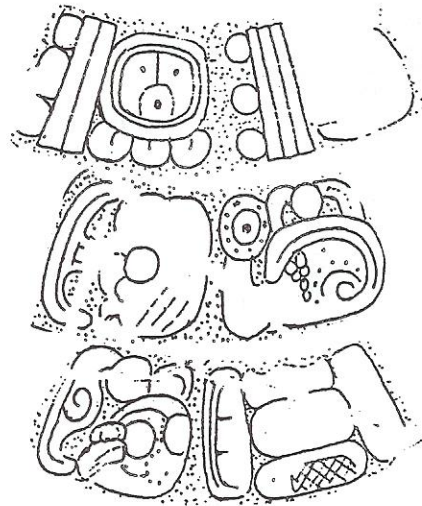
Butz'-Tilwi also recorded that these events were witnessed by a Xkuy-Ahaw/Six-Shell-in-hand-Place. This may be a reference to the palanquin or god he had captured on 9.16.11.13.1, or to a lord from that site who attended the rituals. If it is the former, then he may have paraded captured gods as part of the public ritual for the pe.

9.17.0.0.0 (Jan 20, 771):



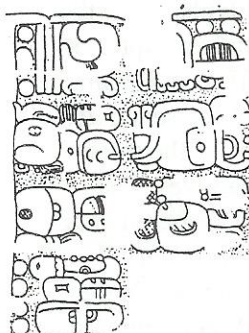
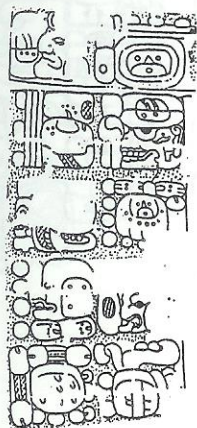
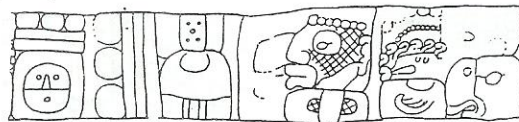
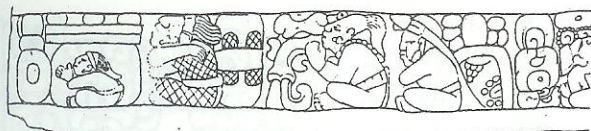
La Honradez St. 7: The verb is eroded. The text may have contained a parentage statement.

El Chorro Alt. 4: The Captor of ? scattered *ch'ah*.



<no illustration> Altar de Sacrificios St. 15: The stone was planted.

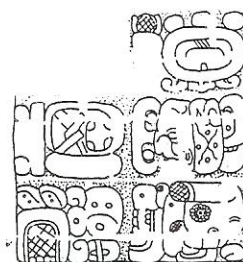
9.17.0.0.0 (Jan 20, 771):

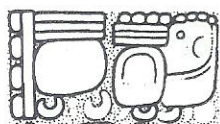


Copan Altar 41: An altar was formed by Yax-Pasah. Copan T11 pan: Something happened at Chan-Makom, Chan Xukub Pi, Kok K'om, and Ox Witik. This was the only k'atun ending in Maya history to fall on an eclipse station. Although there was not a visible eclipse on that day, there was a total lunar eclipse fifteen days later.

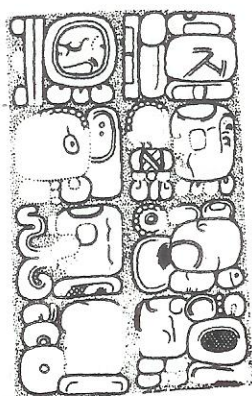
9.17.0.0.16 (771 Feb 5): Copan T11 pan: It arrived at the K'uy Ahaw, Mo' Witz Ahaw, Tukun Witz Ahaw, Hao Way, Kok K'om, Ox Witik.

This was the first appearance of Venus, exactly five Venus rounds after the heliacal rising of the Eveningstar that fell on 9.15.15.12.16, as recorded in a panel in the opposite end of the corridor and at Bonampak'. This day is also sixteen days after the eclipse station on the k'atun ending and a day after the total lunar eclipse.





9.17.0.2.11 (Mar. 12, 771) NAR St. 14:
He was born.



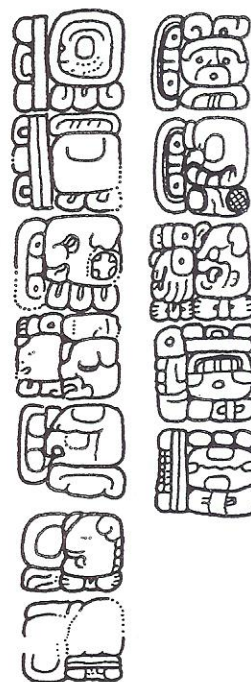
9.17.0.2.12 (Mar. 13, 771)
Naranjo St. 12: He was born, the king who scatters, Itzam K'awil Sak Chuwen. This is a retrospective record of the birth of the second king of Naranjo after the defeat of Naranjo by Tikal. The reason why the event is recorded with two consecutive days is probably that the birth took place in the night between the two days.



9.17.0.6.3 (May 27, 771) Naj Tunich Drawing 29: Mopan was visited by Chak-?-wa Mayik K'an Biyan, lord of pu. David Stuart has recently shown that pu is a word for "reed" and refers to a place of the reeds, which is the Maya counterpart of Nahuatl Tollan. In Mesoamerican mythology there are many such Tollans to which royal lineages traced their origin. This "lord of the reed place" is, according to the next glyph, from the South, he is an anab "stone carver" of a patron named K'inich Sak Ok, who carries a series of titles, among them, he of the six royal palanquins (?) and k'ul ibil winik, divine founder (note that in Tzotzil ibel translates as "foot, origin", and ibel totil is glossed as "patriarch"). This person is the younger brother/sister companion of Chak Tz'il Mayik K'an Biyan, the chich winik of somebody from the Tok' Tun location. Chich winik certainly is a kinship term; in Chol chich is glossed as "elder sister" (itz'in both refers to younger brothers and sisters); and in Yukatek, chich means "abuela de parte de madre" and "cuñada". It is possible that this text records the visit of a lineage founder (or his image) at the Mopan location, who was in some way related to the present lord of the Tok' Tun location.

9.17.0.4.18

(Apr. 28, 771) El Caribe Stela 1: A person with the name "Captor of K'in Balam" is the subject of an unknown event. The following glyphs name the father Captor of Ti-Yem Balam, he of the seven *abta*, he of the three captives. The "numbered *abta*" title is very common in the Pasión region in the Terminal Classic and probably is based on Tzotzil *abat* "soldier, messenger".





9.17.0.16.1 (Dec. 7, 771) La Pasadita L4: Tilom danced with a paper-decorated spear.

9.17.1.3.5 (772 Mar 20): Copan T11 pan: The event is not well understood. It reads *an*, which occurs in sixteenth century Tzotzil as "to hew or carve." The rest of the phrase is eroded, but it seems to read *ti ok te sak xay tu pam chan* or "at the base the white crossing of the sky." In *Copan Note 64*, we suggested that the "white crossing of the sky" referred to the corridors crossing inside the temple, which had sculpture related to the sky on its entablature. The new reading of the verb suggests that the event is the carving of the panels or perhaps their dedication.

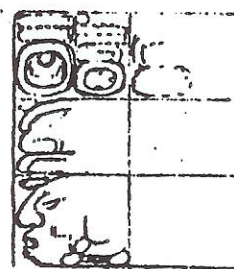
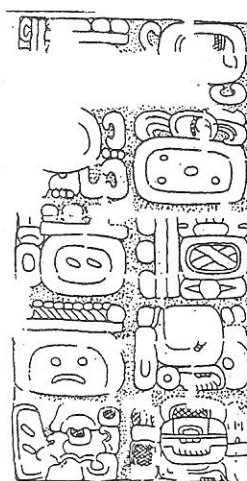
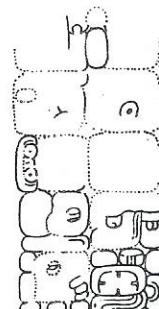


9.17.1.5.9 (May 3, 772) El Cayo L1: Chan-Panak Waybi Ah Ek' Zotz' K'utim came out in sahalship. He *acts u kahi* a Sak Tz'i Ahaw.

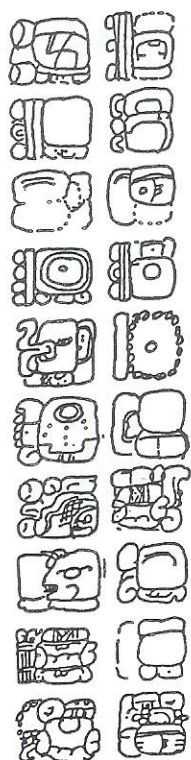
post-9.17.1.5.9 El Cayo L1: The date for this event is lost, but the passage is important to show that the protagonist of this lintel acknowledged his subordination to Sak Tzi, as did his predecessor.



9.17.1.2.12 (Mar. 7, 772) El Cayo, L1: The event and actor(s) from this passage are eroded, but it took place shortly before the inauguration of the protagonist.

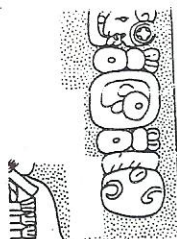
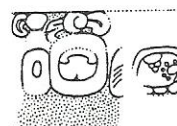
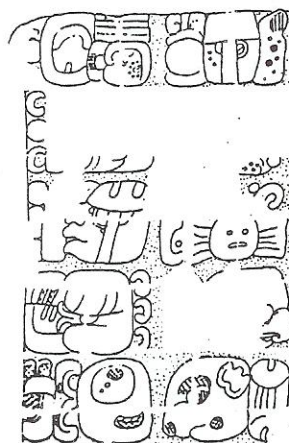
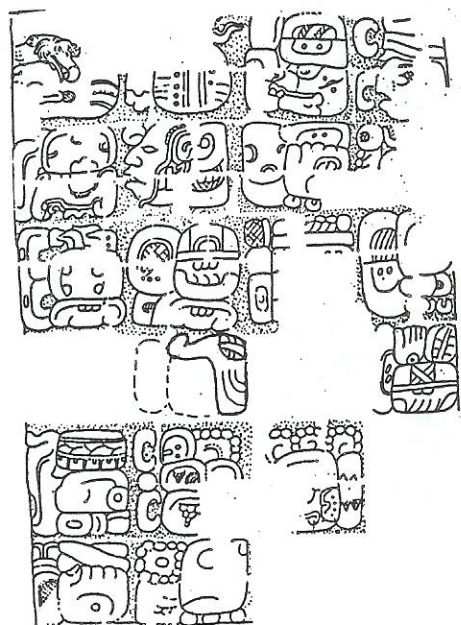
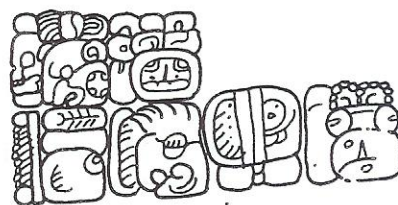
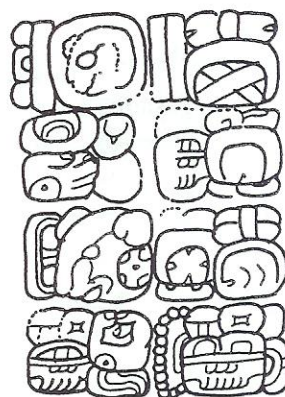


9.17.1.7.4 (June 7, 772) PRU St. 32: Except for the name of Lady Pakal, nothing can be read of this text. The importance of this text is that it documents the rise of El Peru after its defeat by Tikal about 30 years before. Apparently Tikal was not able to control El Peru permanently

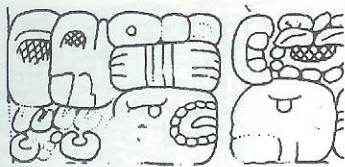


9.17.2.0.4 (Jan. 13, 773) Cancuen looted: Tah-Chan-Ak witnessed the Ho-Hanab-Witz, the tomb of Chan-Ak-Wi.

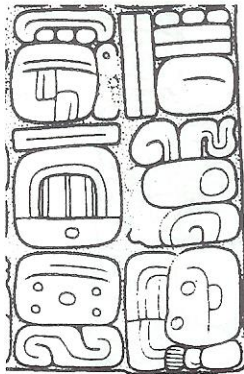
9.17.2.3.7 (Mar. 17, 773) Laxtunich L4: Chel-te Chan-K'inich of Yaxchilan had a headdress presented for him. He acted with Ka-Mo', a sahal of Laxtunich. The scene shows the two lords sitting on a platform held up by two Pawahtuns, and represents we think the Laxtunich depiction of accession of Shield-Jaguar II.



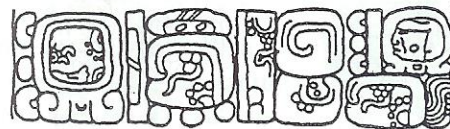
9.17.2.12.16 (773 Sep 22) Copan T11 Sw Pan: Smoke entered the Yo ??? Nah, Na Te-K'an Pat Chan [missing]. It was the house of Hun-??-Pik? *tu hal k'oh Ch'ahom*. The name of the house owner appears to refer to the location of Creation. The phrase continues after this expression and eventually names Yax-Pasah, but the syntax of the passage is unclear. Copan T11 Wn pan: something at the building base was witnessed. We think this was the placing of a cache. Copan T18: The piers in this building show dances by Yax-Pasah. His costume and accouterments are associated with war and captive taking.



9.17.4.1.11 (775 Jan 30) Copan Altar F: A statue named U-Yak'-Chak was formed from clay.



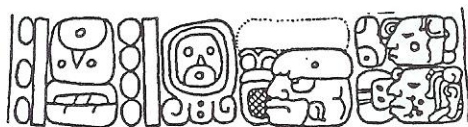
9.17.4.4.10 (Mar. 30, 775) Naranjo St. 13: Bital(?) was burned.



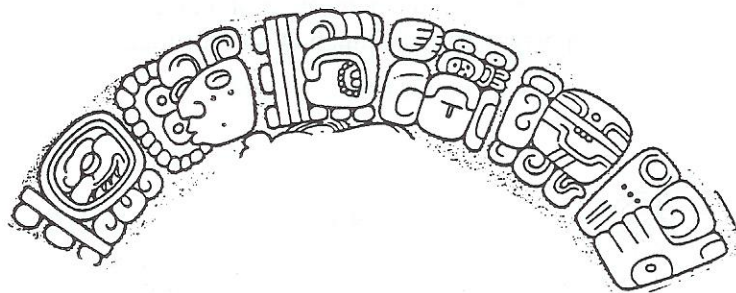
9.17.4.10.12 (July 30, 775) Quirigua Stela C: A six Ahaw Stone event. We don't know what this event is, but it occurred only six days before an event recorded on an alabaster vase gifted by Yax-Pasah to a lord at Los Higos.



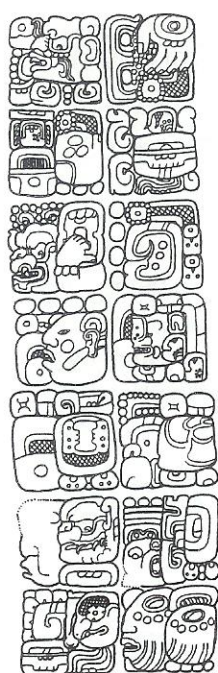
9.17.4.10.18 (775 Aug 5) Los Higos Alabaster Vase: Yax-Pasah created something and danced with 12 Pat. The verb appears to read *u ch'abwa* with *ch'ab* being recorded in Yukatek sources as a term for creation. We suspect this refers to the creation of this alabaster vase which ended up in the tomb of a minor lord in the La Venta valley.



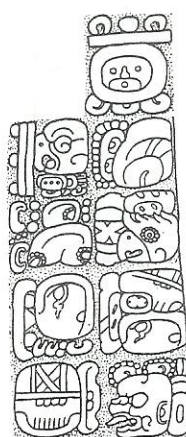
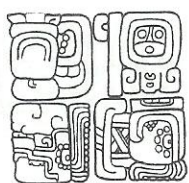
9.17.4.11.0 (August 7, 775) Quirigua Stela C: An event involving the Hero Twins. This is a zenith passage which at Quirigua fell on August 11 (gregorian). Both these texts and that at Copan appear to refer to the Creation association of these dates.



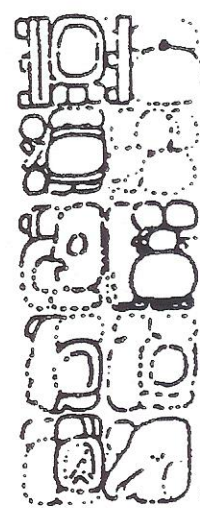
9.17.4.12.5 (Sep. 1, 775) Tonina M69: Wak-Chan-K'ak', the first-born son of the king, died.



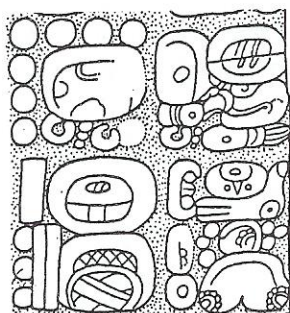
9.17.5.0.0 (Dec. 25, 775) Quirigua Stelae A and C: Butz' Tiliw planted the Six Ahaw Stone and scattered drops.



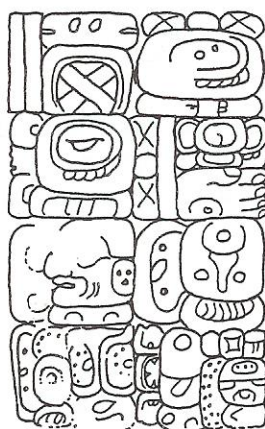
Copan Altar Q: the altar of Yax-K'uk'-Mo' was made sacred by Yax-Pasah. The Temple 11 panels also register this period ending.



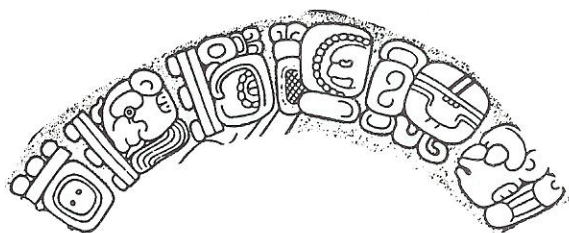
9.17.5.1.0 (Jan. 14, 776) MQL St. 18: The stone was planted by the king of Machaquila. This is the first of the Machaquila stelae that reveal the practice of recording a date in the month Kumk'u of the year following the recorded Round Date. Also, a female is mentioned.



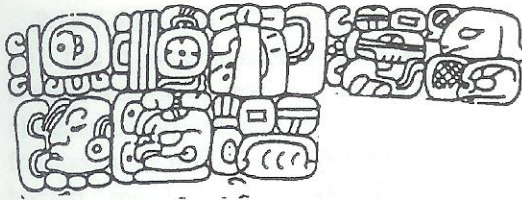
9.17.5.3.4 (776 Feb 27) Copan Altar Q: It was ??? (sealed) the wood or te altar.



9.17.5.4.2 (Mar. 16, 776) Comalcalco brick: The date on this brick is 10 Sip 22D 6C with the young lord. That lunar age matches this date well but 9.16.9.0.2 is also a possibility. The event is the dedication of a brick (*lak*) by a person called K'inich Ol of Palenque.

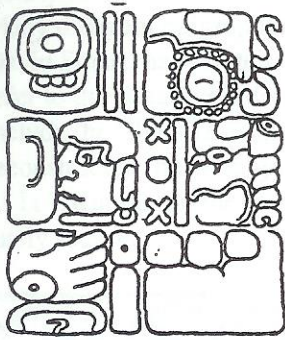
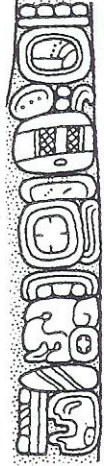


9.17.5.7.5 (May 18, 776) Tonina M69: Some event happened to the *muknal*, "tomb," of Wak-Chan-K'ak' 260 days after he died.



9.17.5.8.9 (Jun 11, 776) Bonampak'
St2: Chan-Muan came out in ahawship.

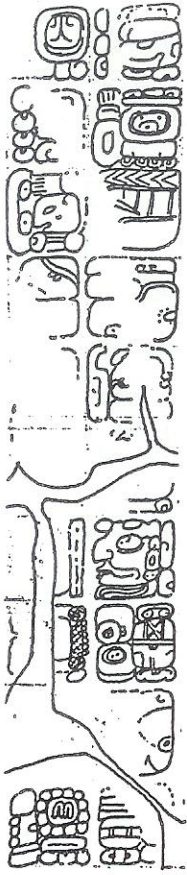
9.17.5.8.12 (June 14, 776)
Naranjo St. 19: Ah Tok', a
secondary lord, did something.
This man may be the brother
of the king. He seems to name
the same mother.



9.17.7.0.4 (Dec. 18, 777) Polol
St. 4: The last three glyphs seem
to record the six Tun anniversary
of an accession. The two glyphs
after Glyph A belong into a group
of texts which describe various
aspects of fire drilling and always
contain names of Gods. They may
have astronomical significance.

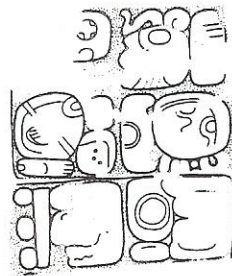
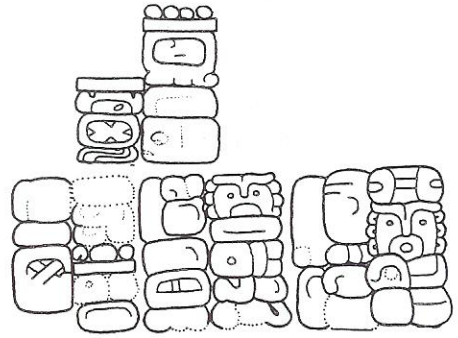


9.17.5.9.4 (776 Jun 26) Copan Altar W:
Mak'ab-Chan formed his altar (in Group 9N-8.)

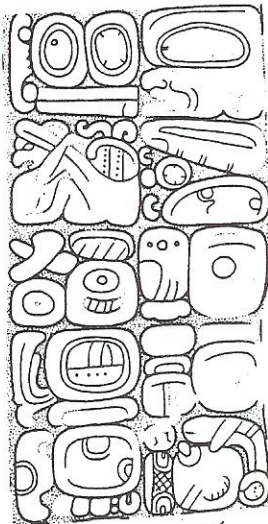


9.17.7.6.3 (Apr. 16, 778)
Itzan 17: Smoke entered the
6 Ahaw house.

9.17.7.8.7 (May 30, 778) Quirigua
O' and P': unknown event by illegible
person. Near the maximum elongation
of Venus in Aries.

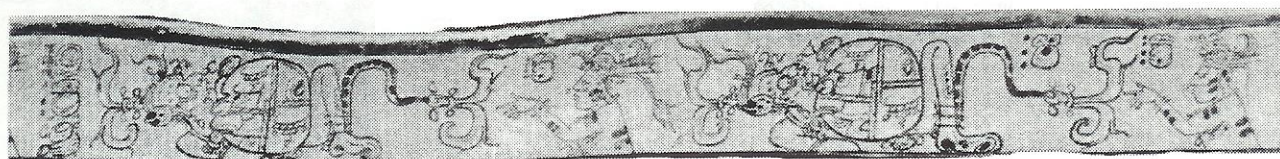
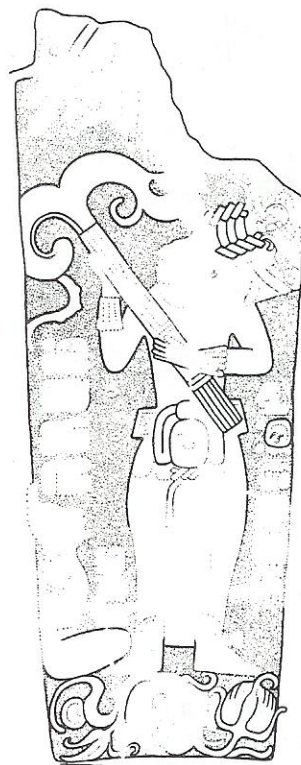
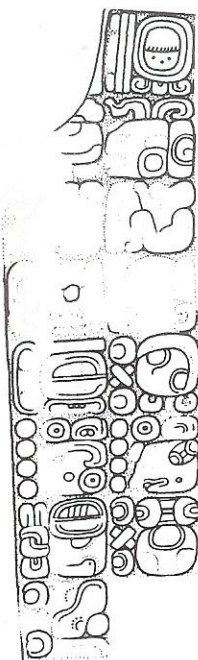


9.17.9.0.13 (Dec. 17,
779) Ixkun St.2: Ixkun was
burned *u kahi* someone
(eroded).

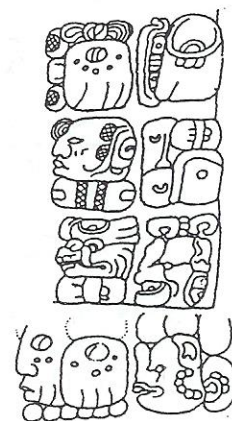
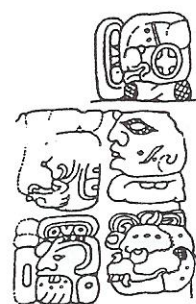
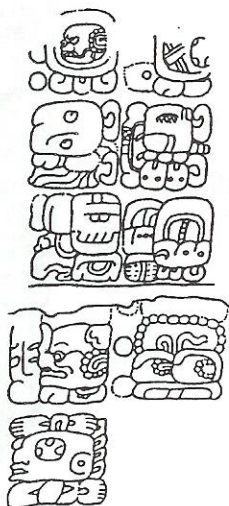


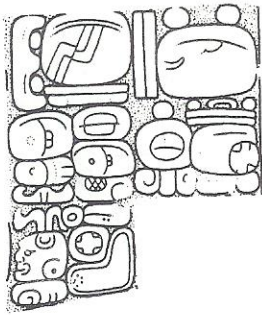
9.17.9.0.14 (Dec. 18,
779) Ixkun St.2: was
destroyed in the center
the *kun* of Iwin (*ch'akah*
tan kun iwin) *u kahi* a
person of Ixkun.

9.18.7.6.14 (Jan. 12, 798) Narnajo St. 35): The placement of the date is not certain because of erosion, but this is the closest reconstruction to the date that follows in the text. The verb *puli*, "it burned," matches the imagery presented on the front of the stela. The actor is the baby jaguar that appears as one of the patron gods of Tikal in Early Classic texts from that site. Other deity names may be included, with the name sequence ending with the Na Ho Chan title. *U kahi* follows with Chan Te Ahaw and Chan Te Ch'ok, who may be the patron gods of Naranjo, and who appear clearly in Copan texts as patrons there. Many different epigraphers, led first by David Stuart, have noted these two pots also refer to the ritual recorded at Naranjo and include the Chan-Te-Ahaw actor. We have reconstructed the Naranjo date by using the 11 Ix 7 Kumku on the top pot below, but this reconstruction is not absolutely secure.



9.17.9.2.12 (780 Jan 25) Copan Altar U:
Yax-Kamlay was seated.
Nu-Yahaw-Chan-Ah-Bak formed an image.
Was carved an image of
God A'. Lady Chak-Nik-Ye-Xok, mother of
the king of Copan,
harvested her tongue.
This date is also mentioned on the stone from
Temple 22a.

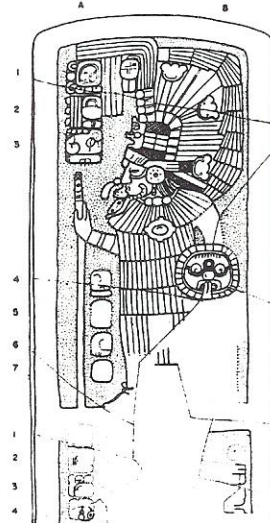




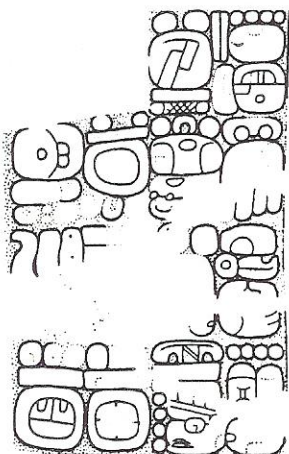
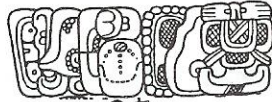
9.17.9.3.4 (Feb. 6, 780)
Ixkun St.2: Ucanal was burned.



9.17.9.4.9 (Mar. 2, 780) Sacul St.6:
He arrived. The name is not readable in
the drawing. The costume worn by the
king is the same as one on Naranjo St.
11 and 21.



9.17.9.5.11 (Mar. 24,
780) Piedras Negras Thr 1:
Something was set up
(*yakatah*), an *ikatz* bundle
was seized or carried
(either *u kuchi* or *u chuki*)
and a house named *Haw*
Nah was dedicated. *Haw* is
a kind of flower



9.17.9.6.14 (Apr. 16, 780)
Ixkun St. 2: Someone scattered
in the company of the Paddler
Gods.

9.17.10.0.0 (Nov. 28,
780) Chinkultic St. 7: No
name survives in the text.



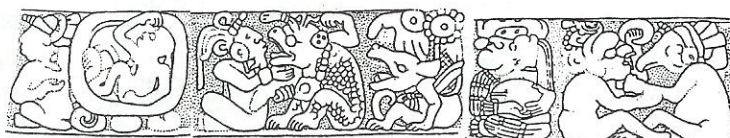
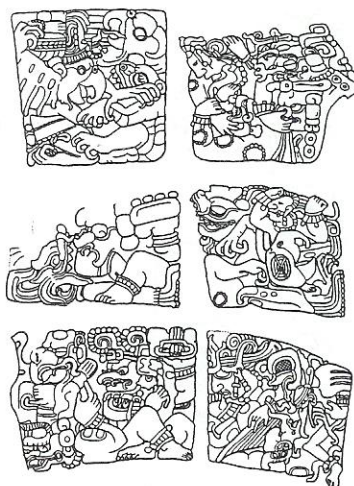


9.17.10.0.0 (Nov. 28, 780)

Bonampak' St1: Chan-Muan set the stone and scattered for the half-period.



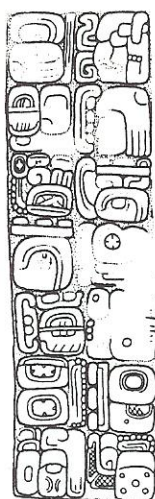
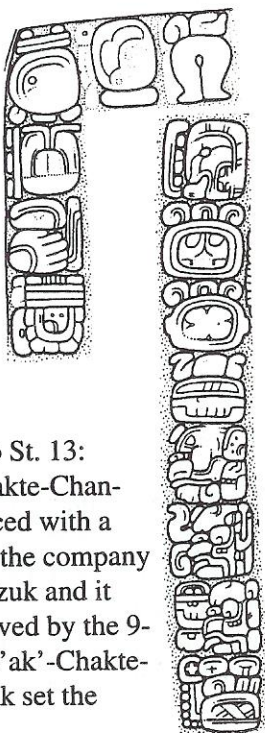
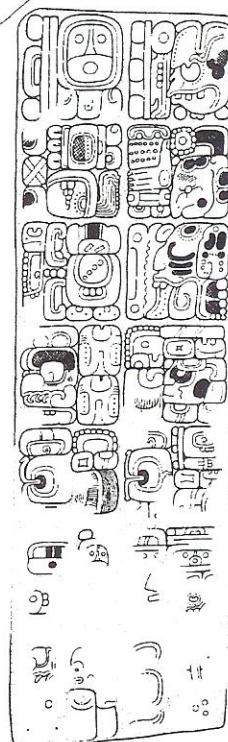
Quirigua Zoo. B: Dedication of the monument by Butz'-Tiliw.



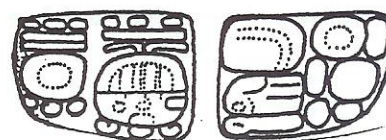
Harvard Bench: Yax-Pasah scattered drops.

Copan T22a stone: Yax-K' amlay scattered drops.

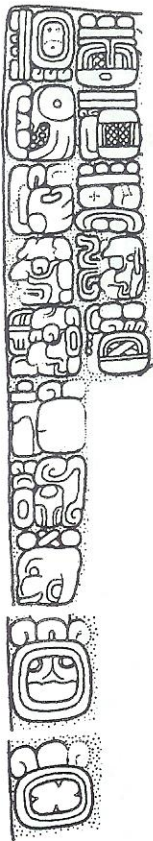
Ixtutz St. 4: he placed a stone and scattered *ch'ah* Ah Yaxhal Bak ???. It was witnessed by a Mutul lord; it was witness by 28-????



Naranjo St. 13: K'ak'-Chakte-Chan-Chak danced with a scepter in the company of Wuk-Tzuk and it was observed by the 9-16 title. K'ak'-Chakte-Chan-Chak set the stone.



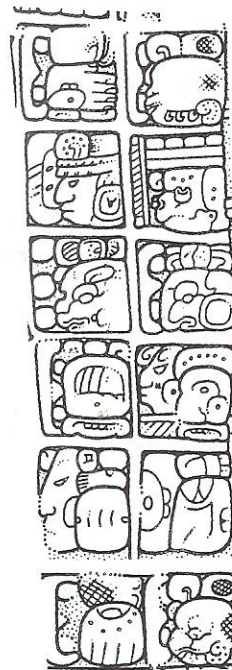
Ixxun St.12: The tun was placed.



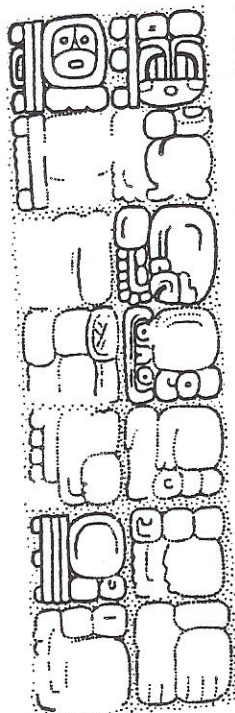
Naranjo St. 19: Ah Tok' scattered drops in the company of K'ak'-Chakte-Chan-Chak. Ah Tok' may be the brother of the king.



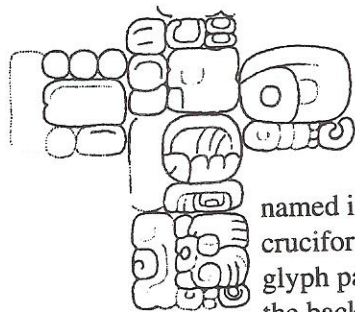
Naranjo St. 33: Ah Tok' did an unknown event in which he held a knot-ted-staff. The iconography repeats that of Stela 30, a monuments of Butz'-Tiliw.



Canberra St.: This looted monument records the k'atun ending ritual conducted by a person called the "Guardian of Yax-Nal."

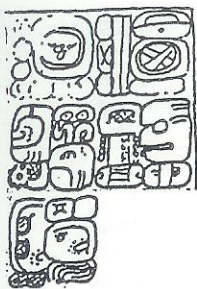


MLP St. 7: The Lahuntun was celebrated by some kind of ritual. The agent is ukay, an individual also



named in the cruciform glyph panel on the back of the Stela after an y-itah relationship statement. The main text continues with a series of titles that include the "Penis title", a title with the number 18, and perhaps the La Milpa emblem glyph.

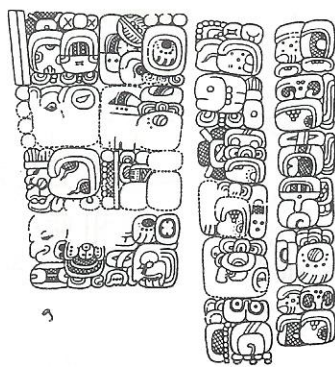
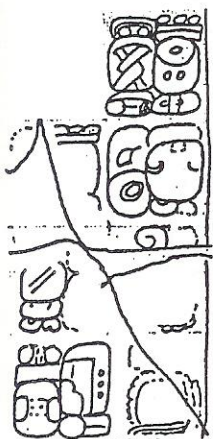
Panel in the Stokes Collection: The Tun was placed by the captor of Yax Nahnal, he of the 14 captives, the three K'atun lord, he who is the cherished one of the Lady who takes care for the books, and son of the captor of Ch'ok Waybi.



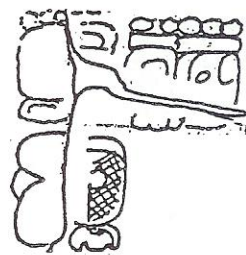
9.17.10.4.14 and
9.17.10.4.15 (Mar.
2-3, 781) Itzan 17:
Fire was drilled by
a Lakamtun Ahaw;
something was
destroyed (*ch'ak*)
by a lord of
Lakamtun.



9.17.10.6.17
(Apr. 14, 781)
Itzan 17: some
event involving a
lord from El Pato.



9.17.10.6.1 (Mar. 29,
781) Piedras Negras Thrn1:
Some object or house was
set up by Ruler 7, who had
not yet acceded. It hap-
pened the Haw-Nah.



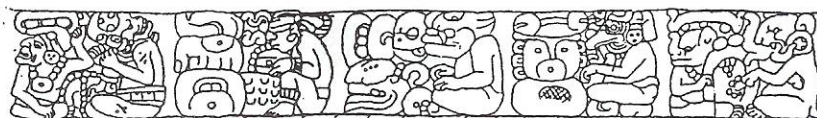
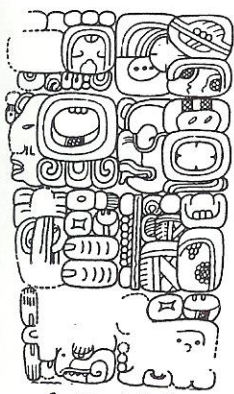
9.17.10.6.8 (Apr.
5, 781) Itzan 17:
something happened
at a *kun*.



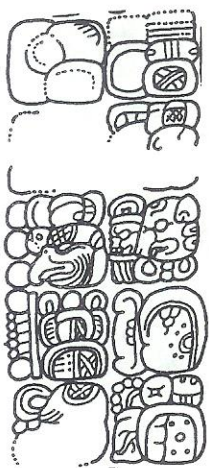
9.17.10.7.0 (781
Apr 17) Los Higos
St. 1: the local lord
was seated in his
house.



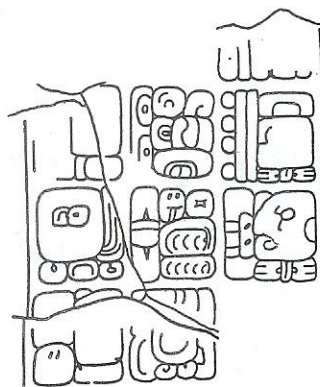
9.17.10.9.4
(May 31, 781)
Piedras Negras
Thrn1: Ruler 7
acceded.



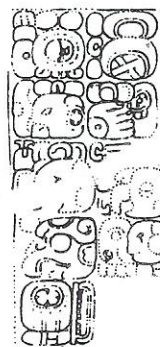
9.17.10.11.0 (July 6, 781) Copan 9N-
8 bench: Mak'-Chan made his house
sacred. He made it sacred with incense.



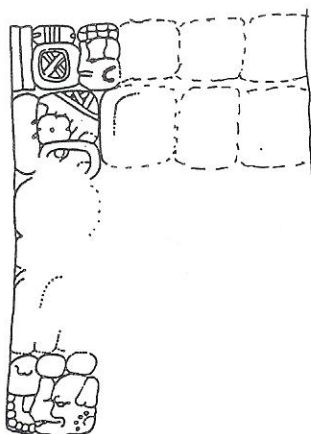
9.17.11.6.1 (Mar. 24, 782) Piedras Negras L3: Ruler 7 did a post-humous event for Ruler 4??



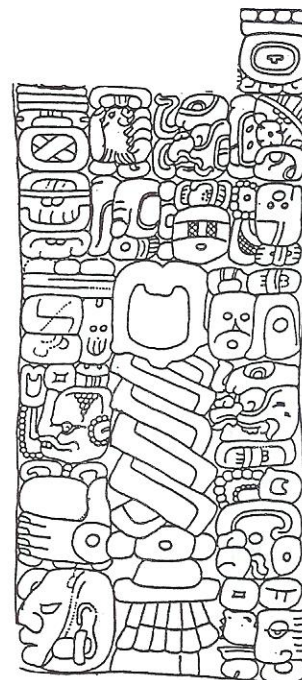
9.17.11.14.16 (Sep 15, 782) Pco Win: Yax-Balam was seated in ahawship.



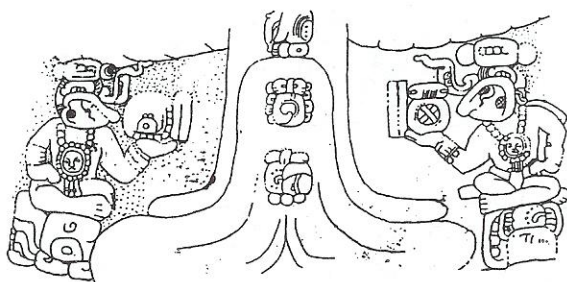
9.17.12.4.9 (Feb. 15, 783) La Mar St.1: The Sak Hunal was displayed for Mo' in his accession rites.



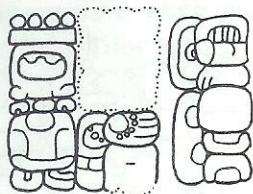
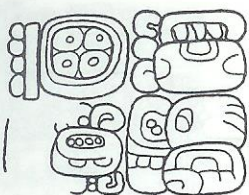
9.17.12.5.17 (783 Mar 15): Copan T22a stone, Stela 8: Yax-Pasah ended (???uxah) his first k'atun in reign. This same verb records the anniversary event on Stela 8.



9.17.12.6.2 (783 Mar 20) Copan Stela 8: Yax-Pasah conjured K'awil. This text records a conjuring rite that took place five days after the first k'atun anniversary. Venus at maximum elongation as Morningstar in Aquarius.



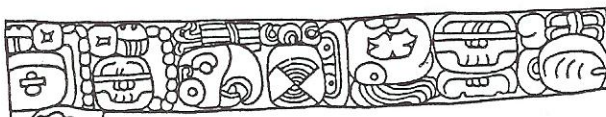
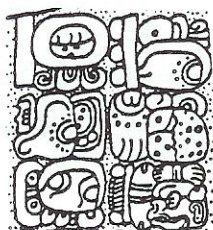
Copan Altar T: Yax-Pasah ended his first k'atun of reign. The dates of the accession and its first k'atun anniversary occur in full figure form sitting atop the glyphs for "was seated his first k'atun," (*chumwan u k'atun*)



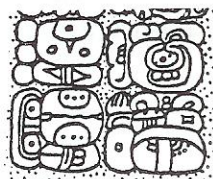
9.17.12.7.8 (Apr. 15, 783) Quirigua O' and P': In both cases the event is unknown and involves Ha-ch'a-ta



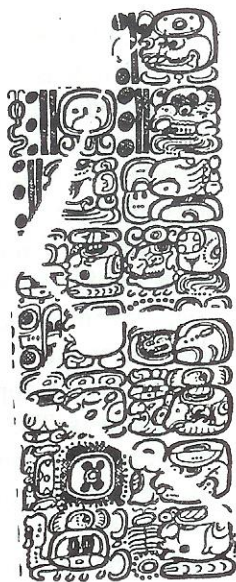
9.17.12.6.15 (Apr. 2, 783) Canberra St: This date is reconstructed from a badly eroded text and may be wrong. We chose this placement from several possibilities because it fell near a maximum elongation of the Eveningstar. Venus was in Taurus near Mars and Saturn which were in conjunction. Since the event is a star-shell event, we chose the most astronomically appropriate date of the alternatives. The date is also only two years after another stela registering the same protagonists. The star-shell event is associated with what may be the head variant of the Yaxchilan emblem glyph.



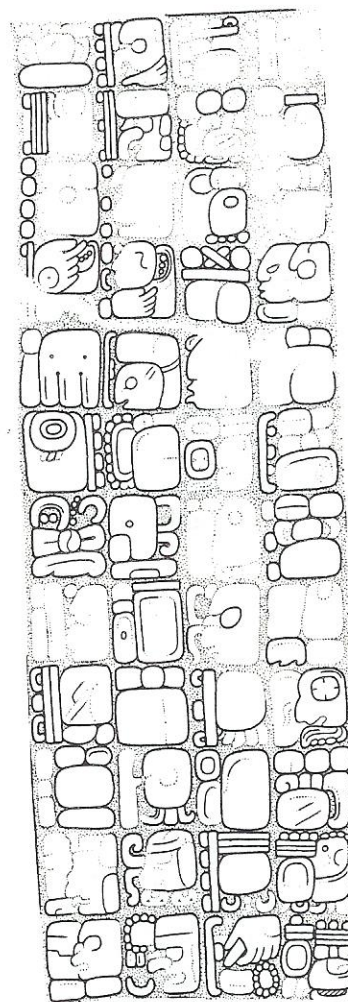
9.17.12.13.14 (Aug. 19, 783): Lint L (Fort Worth): Ba-Waybi was captured *u kahi* Ah-Chak-Max.



9.17.12.13.17 (Aug. 22, 783) Fort Worth Lintel: The captive of the *yahaw* Chel-te Chan-K'inich of Yaxchilan was adorned (*nawah*).



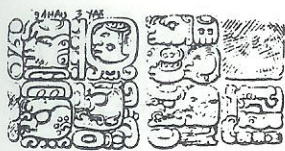
9.17.13.4.3 (Feb. 4, 784)
Naranjo St. 14: Itzam-
K'awil-Chan-Chak came
out in ahawship.



9.17.13.0.7 (Nov. 20,
783) Palenque 96G:
K'uk'-Balam celebrated
his first k'atun in office by
dedicating the *k'an-tun* of
the 96 Glyphs.

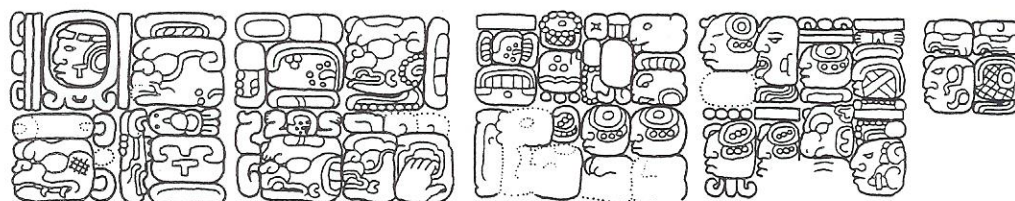
9.17.14.3.8 (Jan. 14,
785) Bonampak' St. 3: The
events and actors are
eroded but the text prob-
ably referred to the capture
of the man shown in front
of Muwan-Chan.



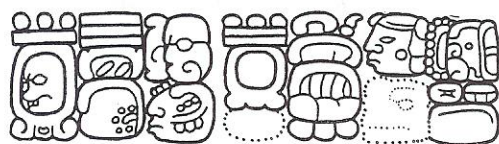
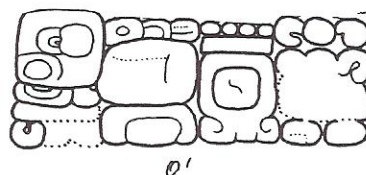


9.17.14.13.0 (Jul 25, 785)

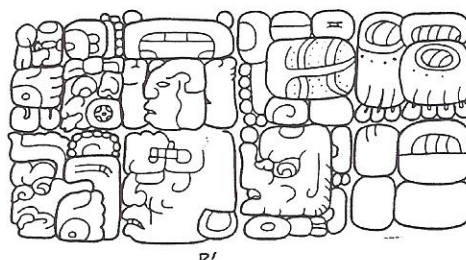
Quirigua Zoo. G: undecipherable event preceding the death of Butz'-Tiliw by two days.



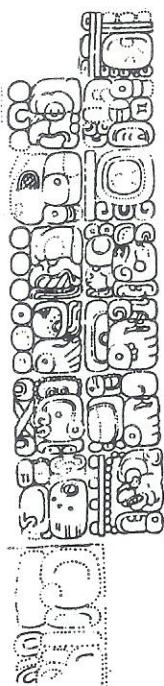
9.17.14.13.2 (Jul. 27, 785) Quirigua Zoo. G: Death of Butz'-Tiliw. The Xkuy Palanquin Lord that had been captured by Butz'-Tiliw on 9.16.11.13.1 was brought so that it could be witnessed during the ceremony.



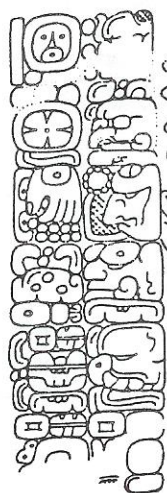
9.17.14.13.12 (Aug. 6, 785) Quirigua Zoo. G: Butz' Tiliw was buried (*mukah*). This occurred on day before the second zenith passage of the sun.



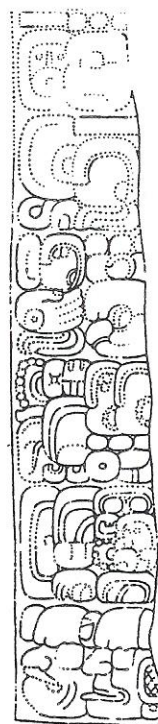
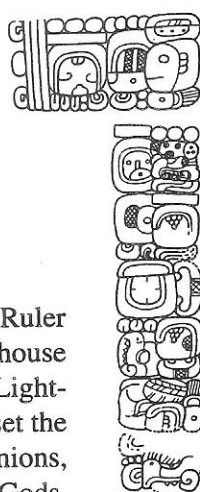
9.17.14.16.18 (Oct. 11, 785) Quirigua Zoo. G, O', P': The headdress was presented for Sky Xul, and he was seated.



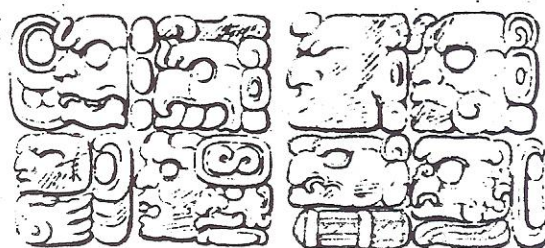
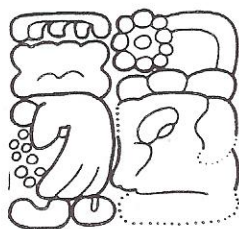
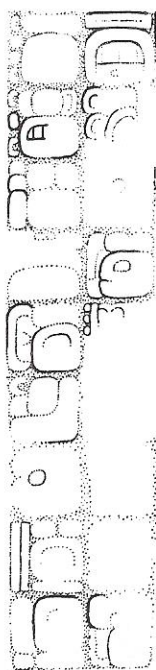
9.17.15.0.0 (Nov. 2, 785) La Mar St.1: Mo' celebrated the end of the tun in the company of a series of gods, including Bolon-K'u-Yokte.



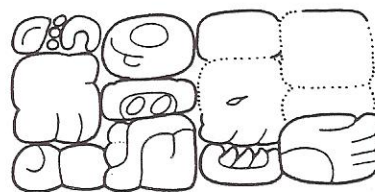
Piedras Negras Thr1: Ruler 7 placed a cache in a house called Chahuk Nah, "Lightning House." He also set the stone with his companions, the Paddler Gods.



Bonampak' St3: Chan-Muan scattered for the tun-ending

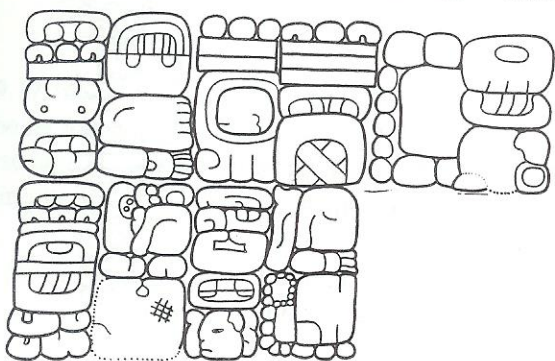


Quirigua G and O': Sky-Xul scattered drops for the period ending. He dedicates a jaguar throne stone.

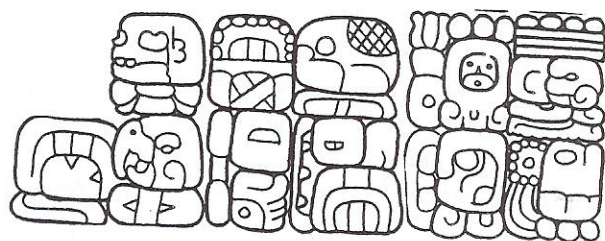


9.17.15.0.0 (Nov. 2, 785) Naranjo St.6: This date can only be reconstructed through the DN that connects the accession statement of K'ak' Kalom Chan Chak at 9.16.4.10.18 with the Holahuntun ending.

9.17.15.6.9 (Mar. 11, 786) Quirigua O': unknown event by person named K'al-Yax-???, who is elsewhere associated with a "Bat-Hand" place. This event occurred on or just before the last apparition of Venus as Eveningstar.

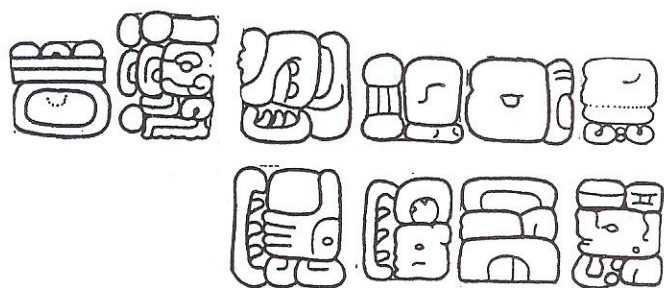


9.17.15.6.18 (Mar. 20, 786) Quirigua O', P': an *u tz'a??-wa* event occurred to K'al-Yax-??? of the Bat-Hand place, in the company of Sky-Xul. This occurred on the day of the heliacal rising of the Morningstar.

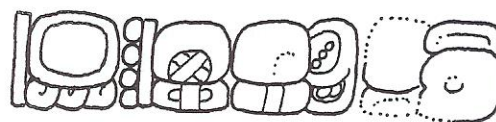


9.17.15.6.19 (Mar. 21, 786) Quirigua O': Some event occurred in association with "kolom," a glyph that is associated with the first bloodletting of the heir at Dos Pilas. We are not entirely sure of the date or the precise action, but it took *yichnal* Sky-Xul. The text may therefore refer to the same kind of event at Quirigua.

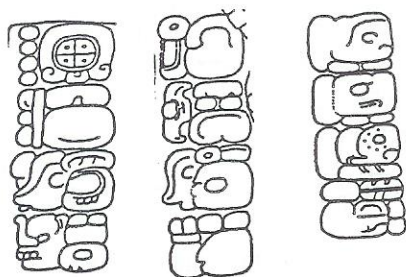
9.17.15.7.0 (Mar. 22, 786) Quirigua O': A person named Yik'in-At Puh-K'ul died. This passage is followed by what may be a presentation verb and the glyph for "his palankin." It took place because of the king who is named only with the Ch'ahom title. The CR as written is an impossible combination, but Matt Looper has been able to use surrounding distance numbers to reconstruct the chronology.



9.17.16.0.4 (Nov. 1, 786): Something was captured and a palanquin from a Xkuy Lord was taken. The cr here is problematic because the dn cannot yield the dates as written. The other possible solutions are 9.17.16.0.11 12 Chuwen 9 Muwan or 9.17.16.0.16 4 Kib 14 Muwan. All are within twelve days of each other and so that the confusion does not badly effect the overall chronology of his reign.



9.17.16.6.1 (Feb. 26, 787) Aguas Calientes Stela 1: A dance event. The protagonist may be the same person who on the same monument, but a few years later, is called Chak Lakamtun.



9.17.16.3.8 (Jan. 4, 787)
Bonampak' L2: *Xu???ak*,
was captured by Chel-te Chan-
K'inich of Yaxchilan.

9.17.16.3.12 (Jan. 8, 787)
Bonampak' L1: Ah-Ho-Bak,
the *yahawte* of Yet-K'inich,
Sak Tz'i Ahaw, was captured
u kahi? Chan-Muan.

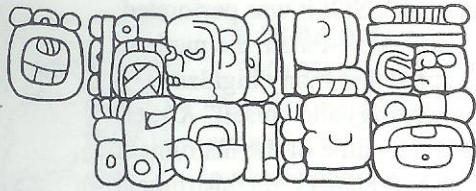


These lintels record the final events in a long series of very interesting conflicts involving Bonampak and other states in the region. First, a panel in Brussels records the capture of a lord named Star-Macaw of Bonampak on 9.10.8.6.3. The captor was a lord of Sak Tzi in association with Ruler 1 of Piedras Negras. (See last year's workbook, p. 116). Piedras Negras Lintel 2 records at least five young lords from Bonampak and Xuklan as vassals on the date 9.11.6.2.1. A new panel discovered at Bonampak, records the accession of a Bonampak lord on 9.13.17.10.9. The last two actions on this panel are dated at 9.14.2.4.10, 9.14.3.5.0 (Feb. 23, 715). The text bracketing these events records the accession of a Lakanja lord on 9.13.12.3.17 11 Kaban 5 Sip, a capture he made on 9.14.3.5.0, and his death on 9.14.6.15.1 10 Imix 19 Yax. The scene shows the Bonampak lord seated in front of Shield-Jaguar of Yaxchilan, so that we assume Bonampak regained its sovereignty by allying itself with Yaxchilan.

A column in the St. Louis museum records another a Bonampak' lord as the *yahaw* of Baknal-Chak of Tonina on the date 9.14.3.8.4 (Apr. 18, 738). This suggests that almost immediately (64 days) after the capture but before the death of the Lacanha lord, Bonampak' lost its independence to Tonina, who was an enemy of Palenque, and very probably a friend of Piedras Negras. Another lintel from this general region now in Zurich records names a lord of Xuklan as an *yahaw* of a Sak Tzi lord in 9.14.11.5.8, about eight years later. Sak Tz'i appears to have been an ally of Piedras Negras throughout these tumultuous times.

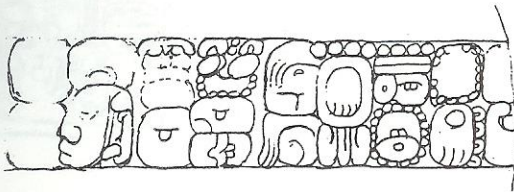
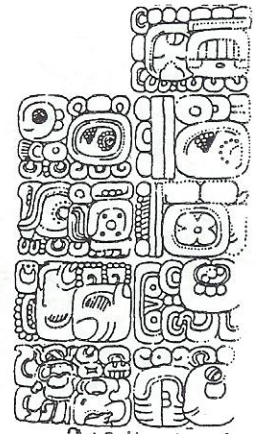
Under Bird-Jaguar, Bonampak once again asserted its association with Yaxchilan for an accession in 9.15.15.16.16. Muan-Chan continued this association into the reign of Shield-Jaguar II, who appears to have aided him in extracting vengeance from two Sak Tzi lords in the battles recorded on these monuments.



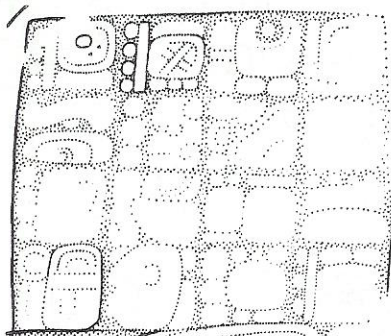
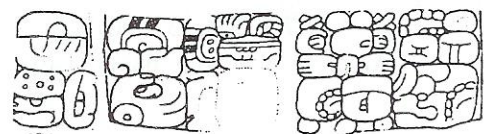


9.17.16.7.4 (Mar. 21, 787) Quirigua O': A being named Tich-Tah died, but this personage is not mentioned elsewhere at Quirigua.

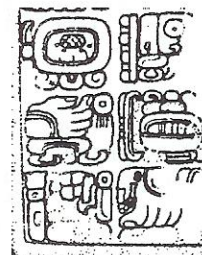
9.17.16.14.19 (Aug. 23, 787) Piedras Negras St12: Anabil Ah ?K'in K'ul Tok' was captured. He was the vassal lord of a person named with an toponymic title that may be the same as one recorded on the west substructure of House C at Palenque.



9.17.17.12.1 (788 Jun 20) Copan Altar G': Something was done with a statue named U-Yak'-Chak. Copan Altar F': The statue named U-Yak'-Chak died (*iw'al kimi*). The same statue was guided (*bixan*) in the company of Yax-Pasah.



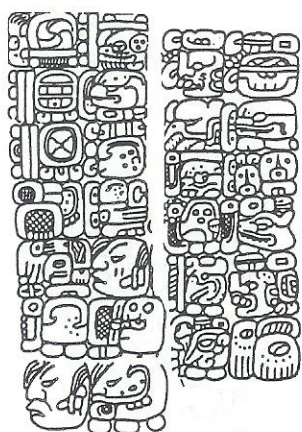
9.17.18.7.6 (Mar. 12, 789) Ixkun St.4: Something happened to a Mutul Ahaw, the yahaw of [eroded].



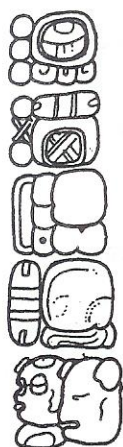
9.17.18.6.1 (Mar 29, 781) Tikal St 19: Jones and Satterthwaite suggested that the k'atun anniversary date on this monument was in error, and that it was meant to record the anniversary of Ruler B's accession.

don't have photo

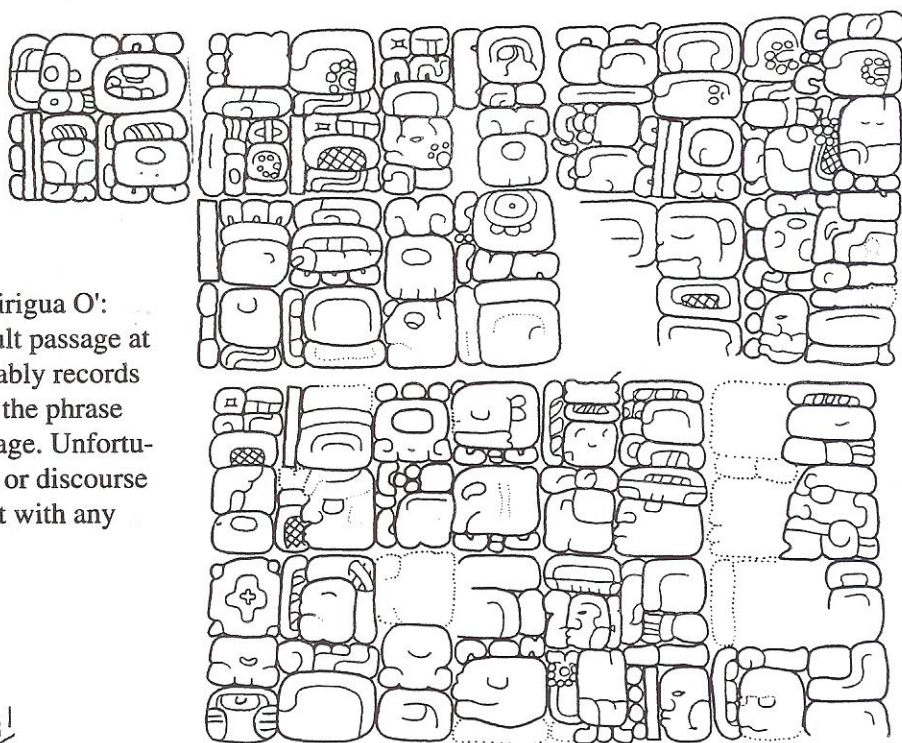
9.17.18.13.9 (Jul. 13, 789) Tonina New mon: Ruler ** captured a lord of Yomop, a site that also is mentioned in war expressions at Tortuguero and on a newly discovered stela of unknown provenience.



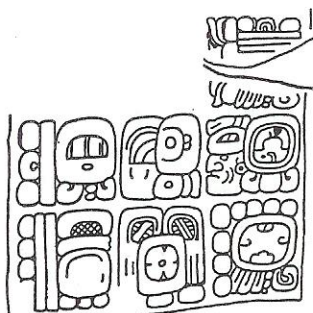
9.17.18.15.18 (Aug. 31, 789) Bonampak'. St2: it was perforated, she holds her ????, her hand-lancet, Lady Akul-Patah, the mother of Muan-Chan. In sixteenth century Tzotzil and many highland languages, *et* is "mark, sign, dot (as in writing) and chisel." *K'ab* is hand and "hand-work." We think this is the name of the instrument being used. *Yet k'abal* is hand chisel or hand lancet, the instrument she is holding in her hand.



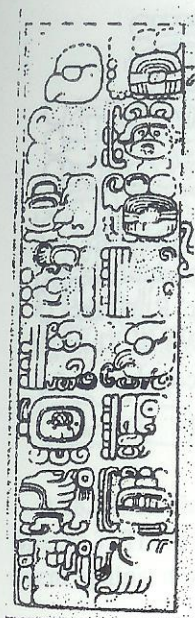
9.17.19.7.4 (Mar. 5, 790) Aguas Calientes Stela 1: An unknown event happens to Chak Lakam Tun



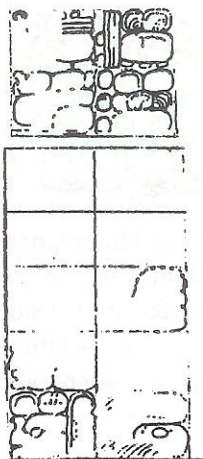
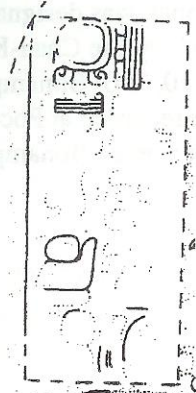
9.17.19.9.15 (Apr. 25, 790) Quirigua O': This date goes with a long, difficult passage at the end of Altar O' that very probably records the rituals for its dedication since the phrase "11 Ahaw tun" occurs in the passage. Unfortunately, there are no chronological or discourse elements that lets us parse the text with any security.



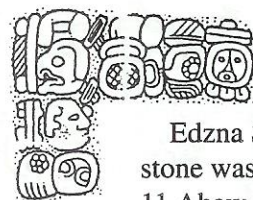
9 17 19.13.16 (Jul 15, 790) Pco Win: a solar eclipse occurred. In the 584285 correlation, the eclipse occurred on the next day, July 16. This is the one of the few observed eclipses recorded in the inscriptions.



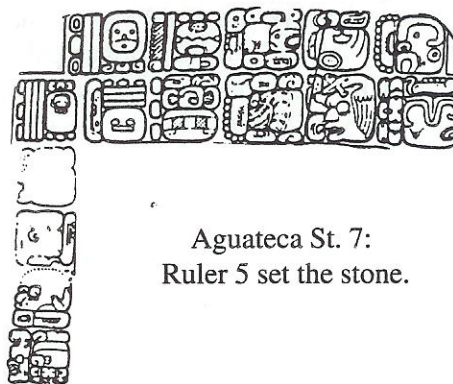
9.18.0.0.0 (Oct. 7, 790) Tikal St 19: Yax-Ain erected a stela in a twin pyramid complex.



El Peru St. 32: The K'atun ending was celebrated by a three-K'atun ahaw.



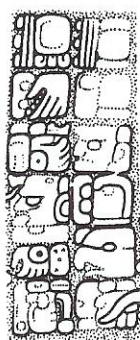
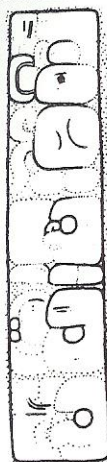
Edzna St. 5: The stone was planted for 11 Ahaw.



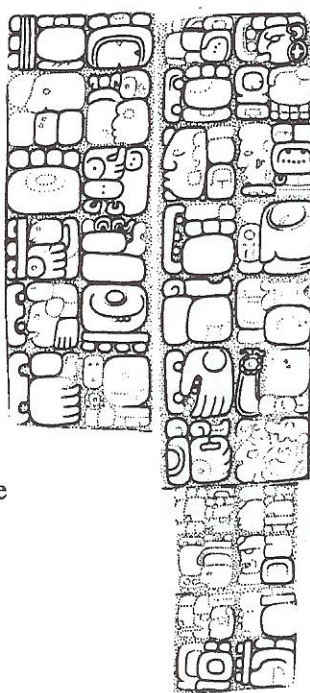
Aguateca St. 7: Ruler 5 set the stone.



Naranjo St. 14: Itzam-K'awil-Chan-Chak scattered drops. He set the stone.

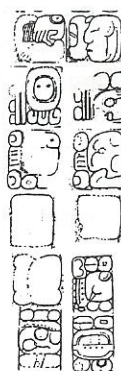


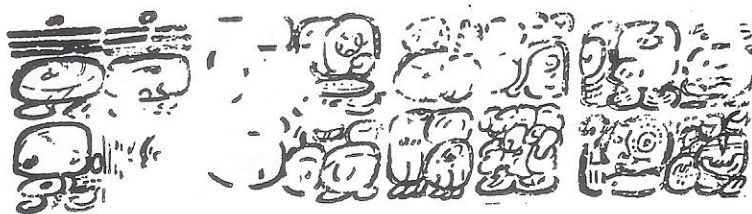
Quirigua Zoo. O: There was a period ending ritual recorded on the monument, but we do not have a readable drawing of it



Ixkun St. 1: The king scattered drops, in the company of the Paddler Gods.

Sacul St. 9: the king set the stone



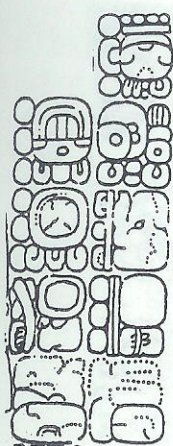


9.18.0.3.4 (Dec. 10, 790) Bonampak' Rm1: the son of Muan-Chan of Bonampak was designated heir 148 days after the eclipse recorded at Poco Winik. This child was also the *yicham* of Chel-te Chan-K'inich of Yaxchilan, who helped to avenge Bonampak against Sak-Tz'i. **9.18.0.3.4** (Dec. 10, 790) Bonampak' Rm1: the son of Muan-Chan of Bonampak was designated heir 148 days after the eclipse recorded at Poco Winik. This child was also the *yicham* of Chel-te Chan-K'inich of Yaxchilan, who helped to avenge Bonampak against Sak-Tz'i.

9.18.0.13.18 (July 12, 791) Aguas Calientes Stela 1: Seen was Chak Lakamtun; *u ko-?-m*. The *u ko-?-m* glyph is found often in connection with pre-accession and bloodletting ceremonies. On the Aguas Calientes Stela, Chak Lakamtun obviously is prepared for bloodletting; he holds a large bone in his hand, and before him is a bowl with spines. The same glyph also occurs in connection with the bloodletting on Dos Pilas Panel 19, where it is preceded by the glyph *u k'ul k'aba*. Thus, the *ko-*"rabbit"-*ma* is an object which can be named. Unfortunately, no good reading has ever been proposed for the T759 rabbit.

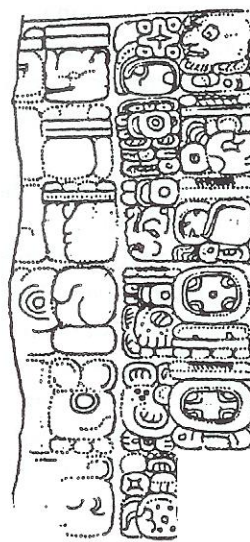


9.18.1.2.0 (Nov. 11, 791) Bonampak' Rm 1: Smoke entered a house, probably Structure 1, probably carried by Muan-Chan.



9.18.1.8.18 (Mar 28, 792) La Mar St 3: There was a *ch'ak* event against a place.

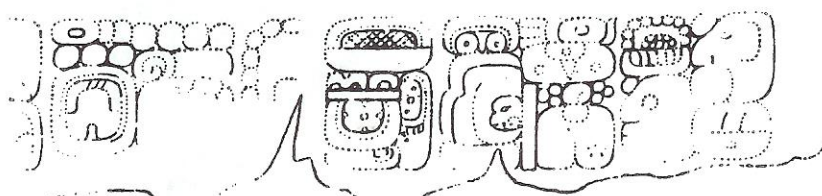
9.18.1.9.2 (Apr. 1, 792) Piedras Negras St.12: There was a "star-earth" event against Pakab (Pomona). A series of captives was taken including several of those shown on the front of the monument as well as a person named Sak-Sotz'. His name sequence includes the nominal K'an-Bolon, which also occurs in a woman's name on a Pomona stela and on a looted monument in the Dallas Museum of Art. The agent is Ruler 7.



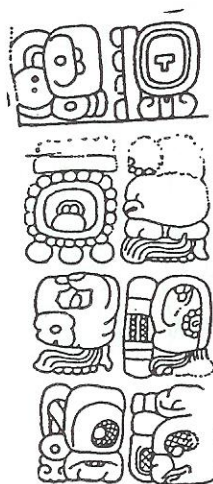
name from front

This war took place 11.16.??18 after the Pakab ???

Sky was made sacred. We think this may have been a major construction at Pomona or perhaps its beginning. We calculate that the most likely date for this early event is 9.6.5.1.4 13 K'an 2 Wayeb or 9.6.5.0.4 6 K'an 2 Kumk'u. The most interesting part of this early event is that it took place in the company of a deity or ruler whose name shows a jaguar holding a *k'in* above his head.



9.18.1.12.16 (Jun. 14, 792) El Cayo NO lint: the tomb of Sakal Hokuch was dedicated with burning. The calendrics here are unclear so that the 1c position may be one or earlier.

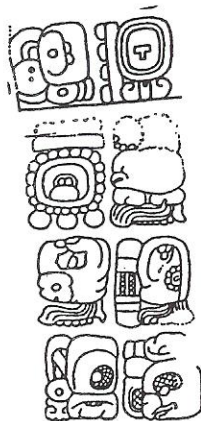


9.18.1.13.2
(792 Jun 20)
Copan Alt U: the "Sun-eyed Throne-stone" (Altar U) was formed.

9.18.1.15.5 (Aug. 2, 792): Bonampak Rm 2: Muan-Chan conducted a battle associated with star-war iconography. It occurred on a zenith passage and during an inferior conjunction of Venus.

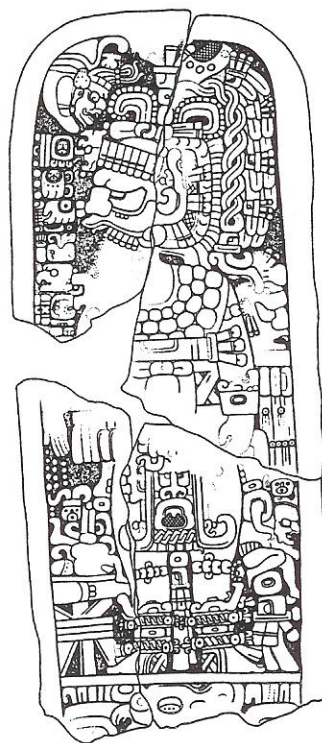
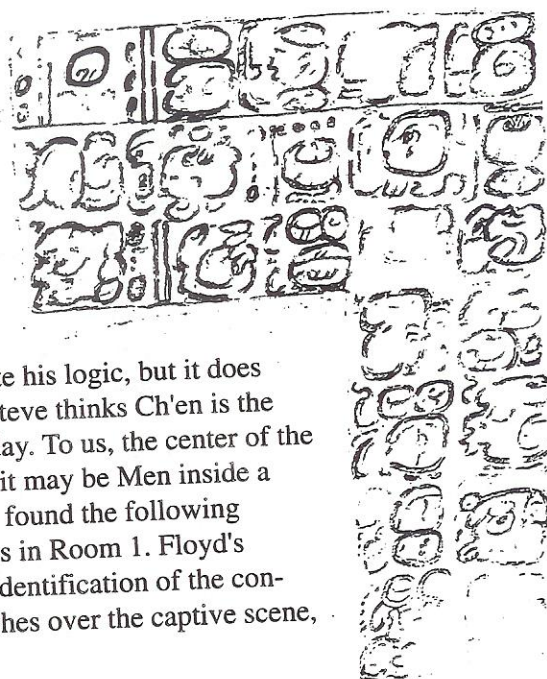
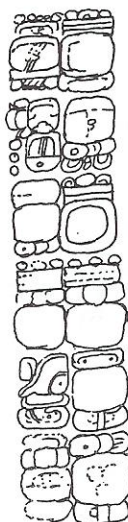
Recently, Stephen Houston drew the inscription for NGS using infrared photos, thus giving us for the first time accurate drawings of the inscriptions. Originally, Floyd dated this event by finding the next cr with 13 ??? 13 Yax, Keh, Ch'en. He proposed the date above. The new drawing does not negate his logic, but it does offer other possibilities. Mary Miller informs us that Steve thinks Ch'en is the best reading of the month and that he likes Ok as the day. To us, the center of the day sign may represent the eye of Chikchan or Ok, or it may be Men inside a day sign cartouche. Using all of these alternatives, we found the following possibilities within ten years plus or minus of the dates in Room 1. Floyd's alternative is one of the best. For the purposes of the identification of the constellations also made by Floyd concerning the cartouches over the captive scene, all of these days will work.

9.17.15.12.10	08 Ok	08 Ch'en	10 JUL 786
9.17.15.12.15	13 Men	13 Ch'en	15 JUL 786
9.18.00.16.15	08 Men	08 Keh	7 SEP 791
9.18.00.17.00	13 Ahaw	13 Keh	12 SEP 791
9.18.01.15.00	08 Ahaw	08 Yax	28 JUL 792
9.18.01.15.05	13 Chikchan	13 Yax	2 AUG 792
9.18.08.15.15	08 Men	08 Ch'en	7 JUL 799
9.18.8.16.00	13 Ahaw	13 Ch'en	12 Jul 799



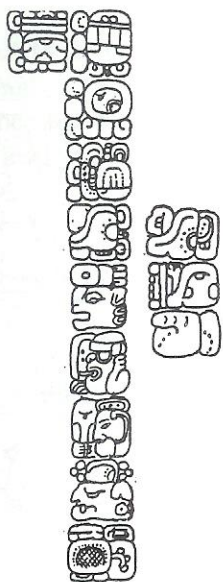
9.18.2.5.17 (793 Jan 21) Copan Alt U: Yax-K'amlay completed thirteen haabs in office. This was also the 30th tun anniversary of Yax-Pasah's accession.

9.18.3.0.17 (Oct. 8, 793) Aguatemala unpub: someone was captured by Ruler 5. The name phrase is badly eroded.

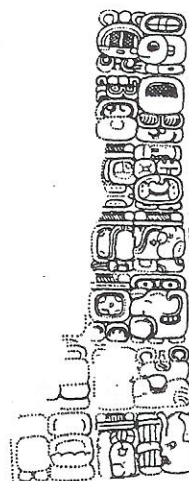


9.18.3.0.0 (Sep. 21, 793) Yaxha St 13: K'inich-Lakamtun scattered on a scaffold sacrifice at the place of Sian-Kab.



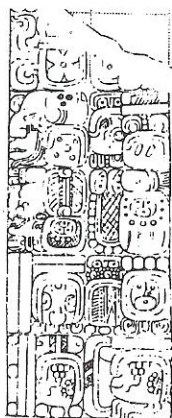


Names of captives
on the front



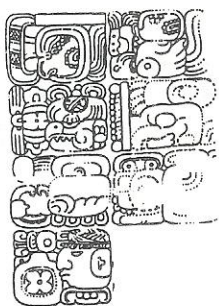
9.18.3.5.19 (Jan. 18, 794) La Mar St 3: Sak-Sotz' Chakte Chak, the *sahal* of Kuch-Balam of Pakabwas captured. A man named Ah K'ech-Ton was also captured and is shown in the scene. Both of these captives are also named on Piedras Negras 12.

Piedras Negras St.12 : The date on St. 12 has on a 1 tun surviving in the dn, but we feel confident that it recorded a day ± 4 days from the La Mar date. The surviving text includes titles of Ruler 7, and the names of captives such as Ah K'ech-At, who is named on the La Mar stelae. The captives names also includes those shown on the front of the monument.

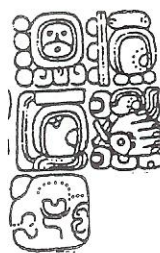


9.18.4.7.10 (Feb. 13, 795) Cleveland Panel: Lady Hob placed a cache *u kahi* Ah Yax-Sotz' Sahal K'utim. The bat part of the name has *tu* and *ma* as phonetic complements. It was probably not read as *sotz'* and we suspect it may have been a title taken from a location.

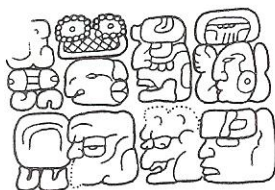
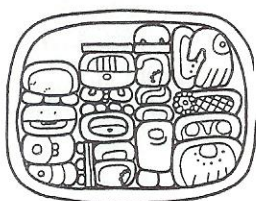
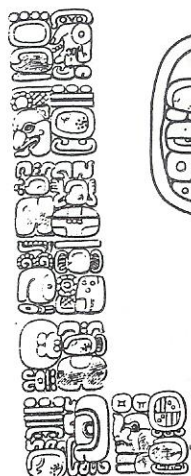
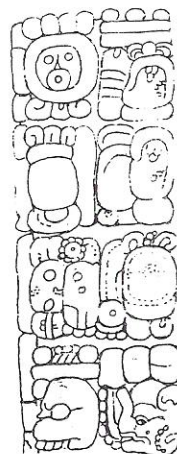
9.18.5.0.0 (Sep. 11, 795) Piedras Negras St. 12: Ruler 7 celebrated the hotun.



La Mar St. 2: Mo'-Chak, the local ruler celebrated the hotun.



Copan T22a stone: Nu-Yahaw-Chan-Ah-Bak set up a stone.

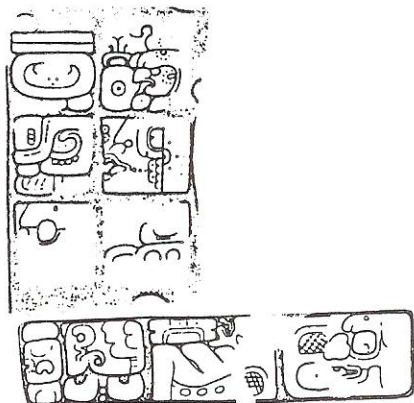
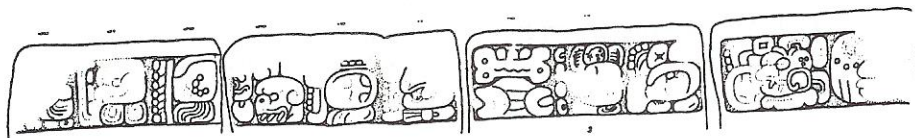


Quirigua Zoo. P and P': Scattering of ch'ah for the first Hotun by Sky-Xul.



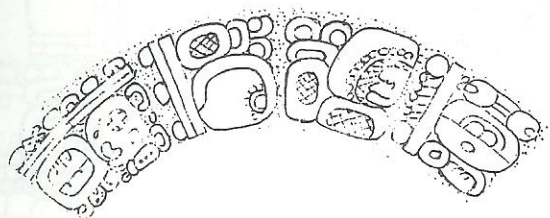
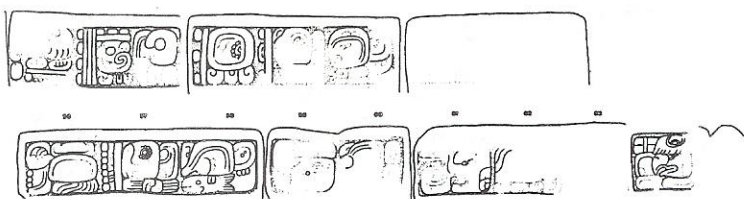
9.18.5.10.3 (Apr. 1, 796) Tonina New Disk: Hoch' May Ah Kolol Te' died. Ayala has identified in ethnohistorical sources a place called Kolol Te' in the Ococingo Valley.

9.18.5.14.0 (Jun. 17, 796) Yaxchilan HS 5: This is the name phrase from the first surviving phrase in a texts that records a series of captures. Presumably this was one also, but the identification of the captive and captor is not clear.



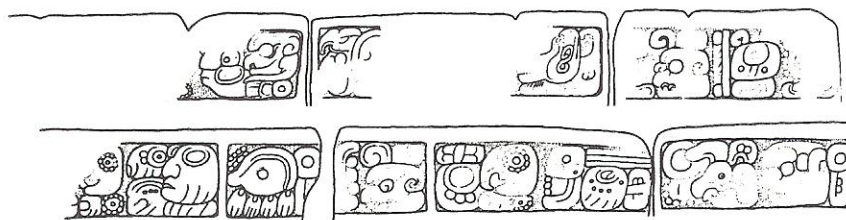
9.18.5.16.4 (Aug. 10, 796) Yaxha St.31: Sotz'-K'in was captured *u kahi* Yax-"Baby-Jaguar"- Ek'-Chak. This is a direct counterpart to the name mentioned on Naranjo St. 35 in the first *puluy* event. The baby-jaguar character may have been one of the patron gods of Yaxha, and the baby-jaguar appears a patron god of Tikal during the Early Classic period. The two polities were long term allies and may have shared a patron god because of it.

9.18.6.4.19 (Dec. 13, 796) Yaxchilan HS 5: Somebody entitled Ah Naman underwent some ritual after his capture. Chel-te Chan-K'inich capture someone else.

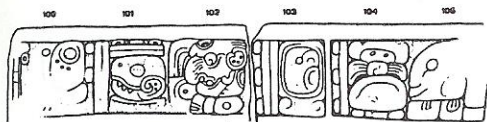


9.18.6.5.3 (Dec. 17, 796) Tonina new disk: Ah Kolol-te did something in his tomb 260 days after he died.

9.18.6.5.11 (Dec. 25, 796): Yaxchilan HS 5: Chel-Te Chan-K'inich captured someone [name eroded]

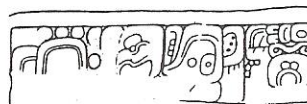


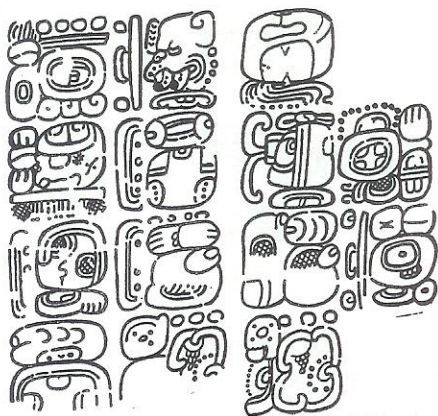
9.18.6.5.16 (Dec. 30, 796) Yaxchilan HS 5: Chel-Te Chan-K'inich made another capture



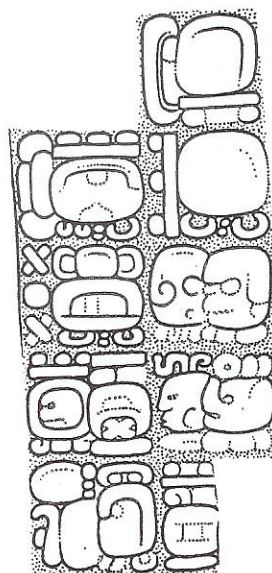
9.18.7.16.9 (Jul. 26, 798) Yaxchilan HS 5: "rabbit"-ka-ha verb. This verb is also associated with capture events on the Brussels panel from Sak Tzi.

9.18.8.3.3 (Oct. 28, 798) Yaxchilan HS 5: Ah Sak Wol was captured.

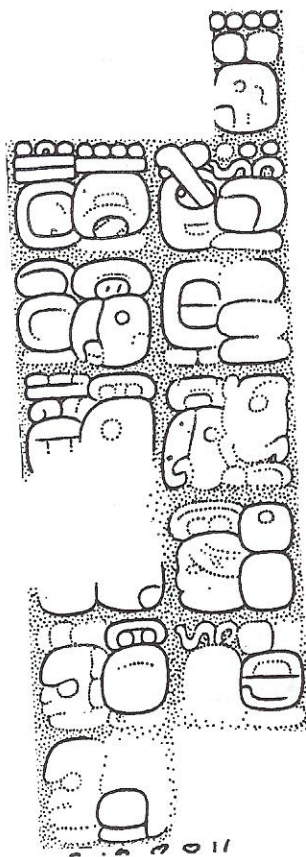




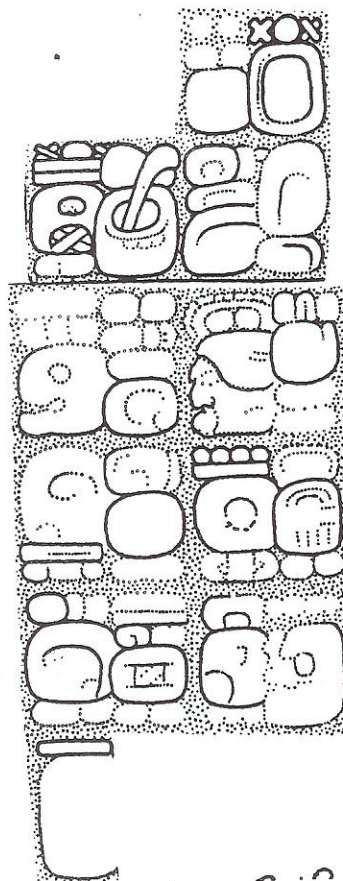
9.18.8.3.9 (Nov. 3, 798) Caracol BCM3: His ko-?? was carved *u kahi* the second *sul* of k'inich Hok'-K'awil at the kun of Ox-Witz. *Sul* is also a title found at Palenque. In Yukatek, *sulik* means "one who depends on another." It is also a principal war title among the Cruzob Maya.



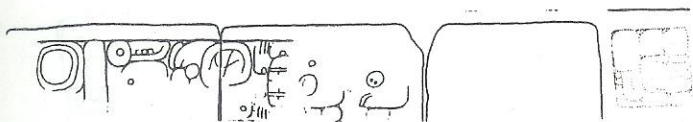
9.18.8.8.12 (Feb. 14, 799) Naranjo : There was a *puluy* "fire" event against a place name containing the *xu* bat *u kahi* He of Naranjo.



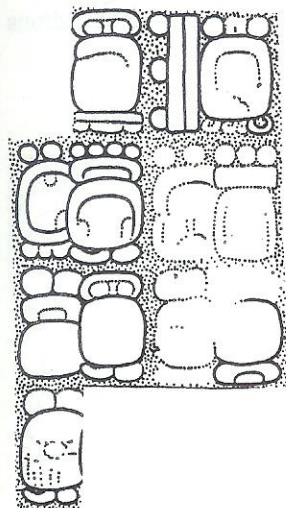
9.18.8.8.16 (Feb. 18, 799) Naranjo St. 12: There was a *ch'ak*, "destruction," event against somebody from Yaxha *u kahi* Itzam-K'awil.



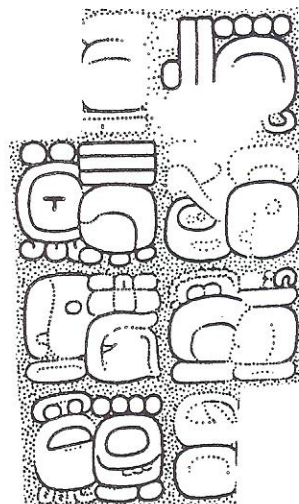
9.18.8.8.18 (Feb. 20, 799) Naranjo St. 12: There was a *ch'ak*, "destruction," event against someone—now eroded. *Bolon pata*, "nine tributes," is included in the phrase. The agent seems to be He-of-Naranjo.



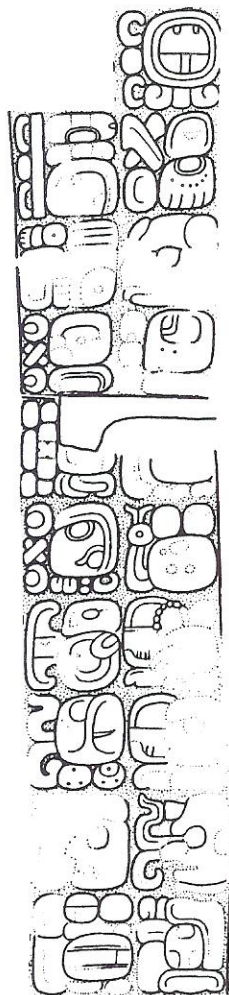
9.18.8.10.12 (Mar. 26, 799) Yaxchilan HS5;
This verb appears to be a *tz'ak*, "change," glyph
and the actor is a lord of Yaxchilan, but his
name is not clear.



9.18.8.11.11 (Apr.
14, 799) Naranjo St.
12: an eroded event
by an eroded agent in
this series of war
events

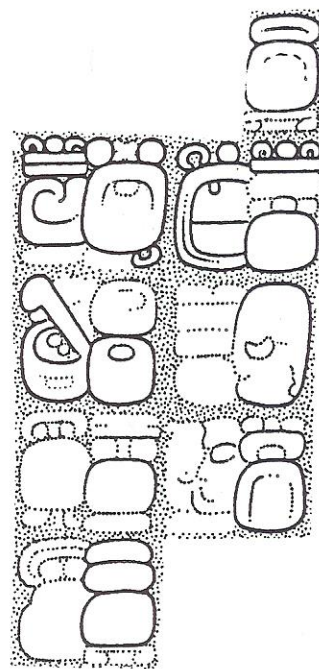


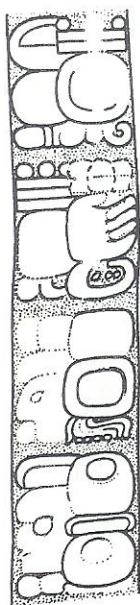
9.18.8.16.2 (Jul. 14, 799)
Naranjo St. 12: A *ch'ak*, "de-
struction," event against K'inich
Lakamtun of Yaxha.



9.18.9.01.3 (Sep. 3, 799) Naranjo
St. 35: A *ch'ak* event against a house,
which was the *kun* of the flattened
K'inich Lakamtun of Yaxha *u kahi*
Chak At K'ak'-Tzul-Chan-Chak
Itzam-K'awil

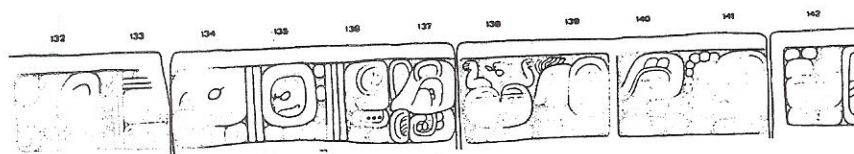
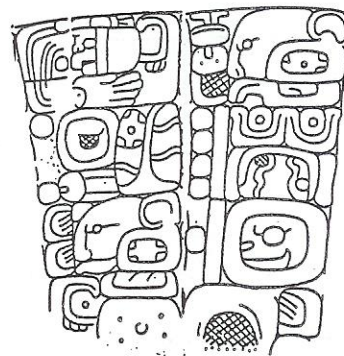
Naranjo St. 12: A
ch'ak, "destruction,"
event related to
K'inich Lakamtun of
Yaxha.



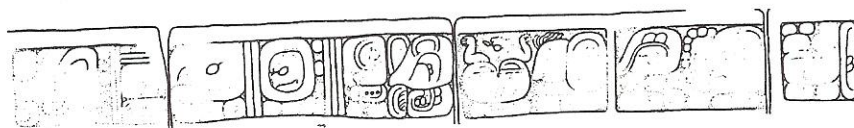


9.18.9.3.3 (Oct. 23, 799) Machaquila St. 2: Ochk'in-Kolomte Ah-Ho-Bak had the headdress displayed for him at his accession.

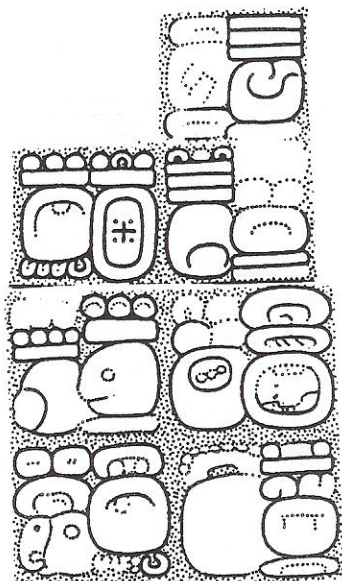
9.18.9.4.4 (Nov. 13, 799) Palenque IS Pot : The jester god headdress was displayed for him, Chan-Ch'ok-Tzuk, Bolon Ek'-Kab Wak Kimi Hanab Pakal. This text records the accession of a very late ruler who does not appear on any stone monument.



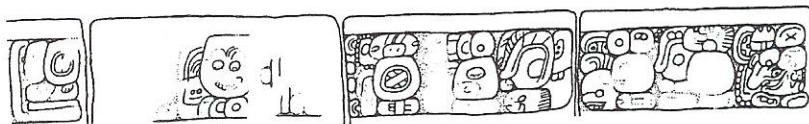
9.18.9.6.6 (Dec. 25, 799) Yaxchilan HS5: Sian-Kaan was captured *yeteh* Shield-Jaguar Chel-te.



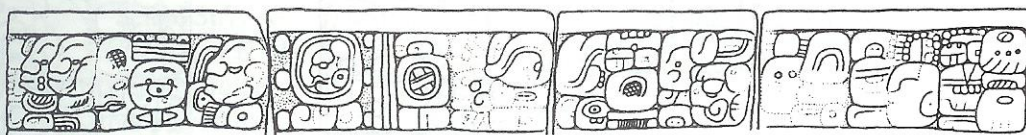
9.18.9.7.18 (Jan 26, 800) Yaxchilan HS5: Och-k'in ahaw was captured *yeteh* Shield-Jaguar Chel-te.



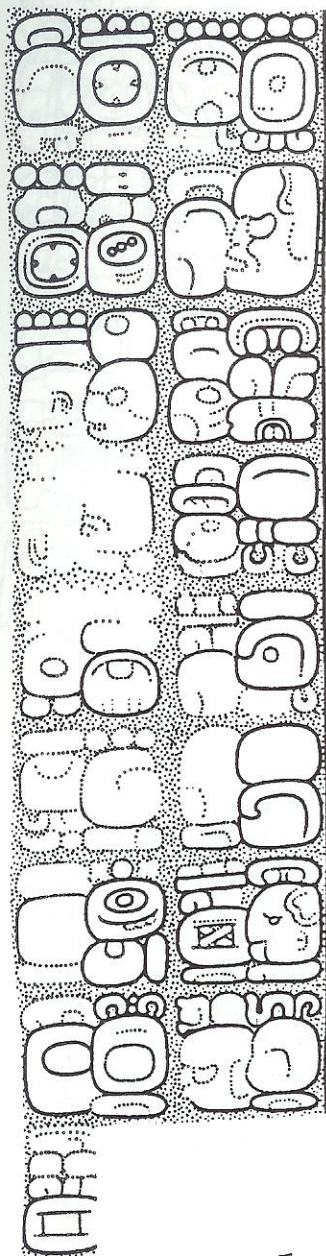
9.18.9.9.8 (Feb. 25, 800) Naranjo St. 12: A series of events that include *nawah yikatz Yaxha ahaw*, "was adorned, the bundle of the Yaxha Ahaw." The agent is He-of-Naranjo.



9.18.9.9.14 (Mar. 2, 800) Yaxchilan HS5: Captor of *te-ch'ok* was captured *yeteh* Shield-Jaguar Chel-te.



9.18.9.10.10 (Mar. 18, 800) Yaxchilan HS5: Although the verb is less than clear, it appears to record another capture by Shield-Jaguar II.

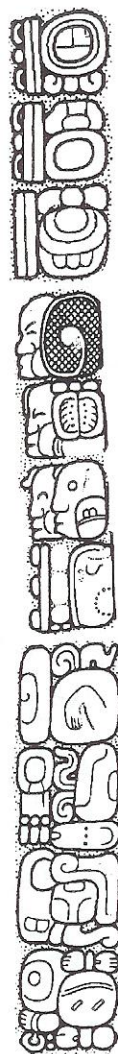


9.18.9.13.15 (May 22, 800) Naranjo St. 12: The adorning, *nawah*, of a person recorded earlier as the subject of a *ch'ak* event. This series of events involved a *u pach* palanquin and another *ikatz*, "bundle."

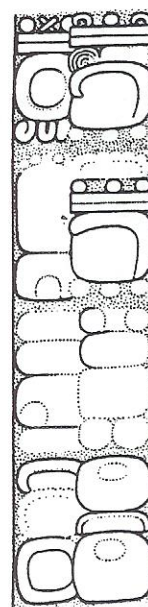


9.18.9.15.10 (June 26, 800) Machaquila St. 2: Ochk'in Kalomte of Machaquila had his headdress displayed for him.

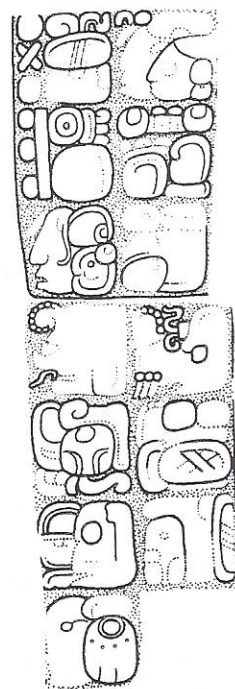
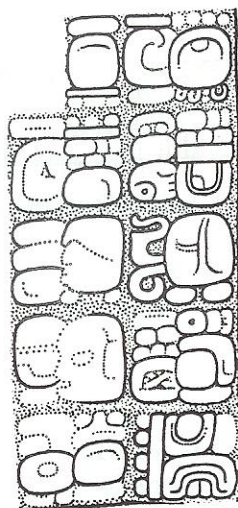
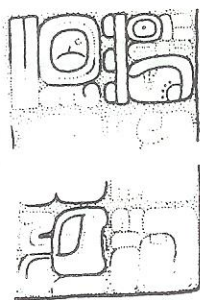
9.18.9.16.3 (Jul. 9, 800) Machaquila St.2: Ochk'in-Kolomte Ah-Ho-Bak completed the thirteenth winal in office.



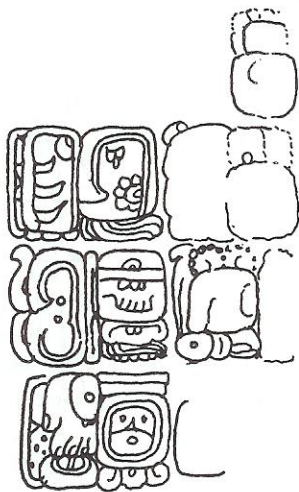
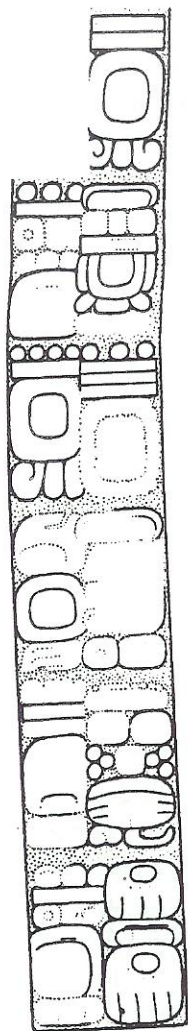
9.18.9.14.3 (May 30, 800) Naranjo St. 8: An action involving a captive was done in the company of Itzam-K'awil at the location Maxam.



9.18.10.0.0 (Aug 15,
800) Naranjo. St. 8, 12,
35: Itzam-K'awil con-
ducted a fire ceremony
and erected a stone
monument.



Machaquila St. 2, 7:
Ochk'in-Kolomte Ah-Ho-
Bak celebrated the half-
period.



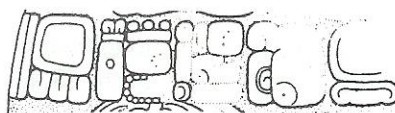
Quirigua Stela I: Butz'
Howo planted a Lakamtun
and scattered drops.



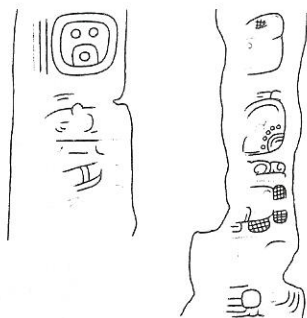
Copan Altar GI: was formed
the portal serpent by Yax-Pasah.



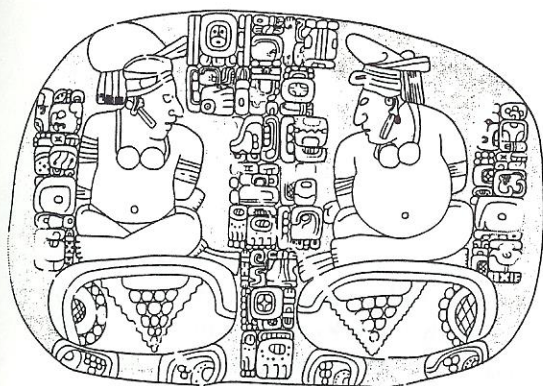
Seibal St.7: A-To-?? Ahaw K'ul-Itz'at Ah-Bolon-Abta played ball.



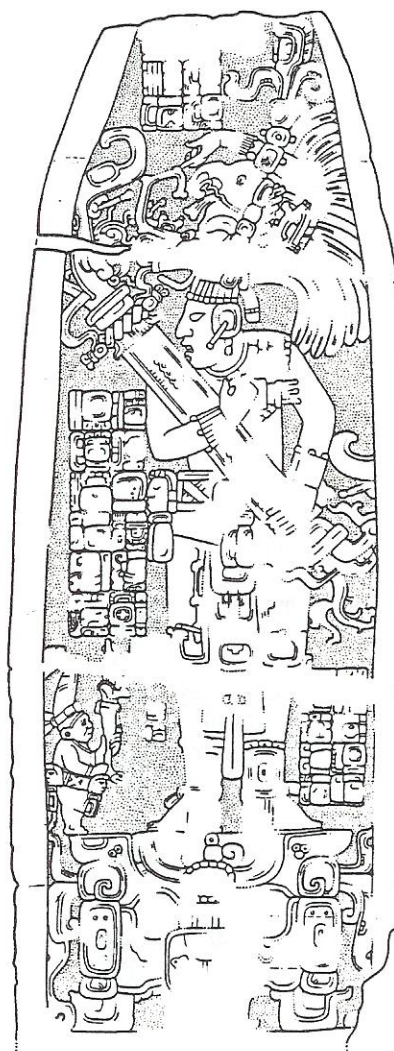
Ikkun St.5: The stone was set by the local ruler in the company of the Paddlers.



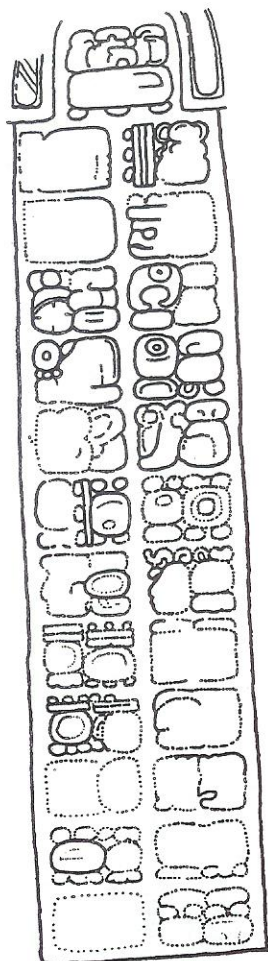
Kultun St. 21: Except for the date, nothing is left.



Caracol Alt. 23: K'inich Hok'-K'awil set the stone for the half-period and captives of Tumol-K'inich were taken *u kahi* K'inich Hok'-K'awil. One captive was from Bitol, a site mentioned in the inscriptions of Naranjo, and the other was from Ucanal.

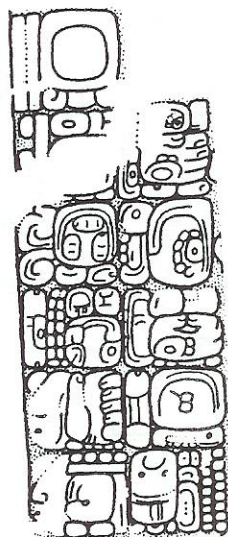
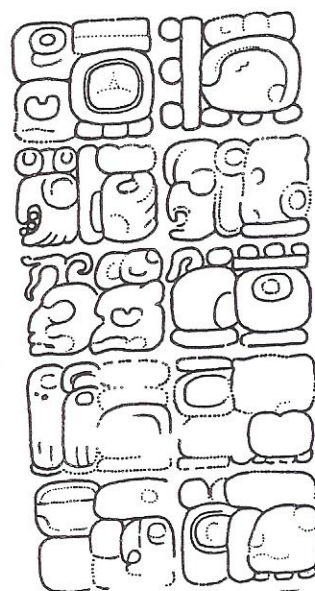


Caracol St. 11: K'inich Hok'-K'awil planted a stone to commemorate the half period.

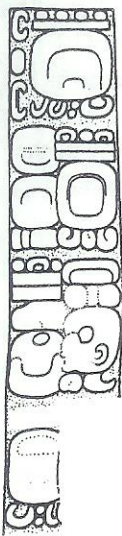


Sacul St. 10: This monument contains several dates, except for the IS, all are illegible. Note the glyphs between Glyph G and F and Glyph E/D of the Lunar Series. This is another instance for a "Fire drilling" statement.

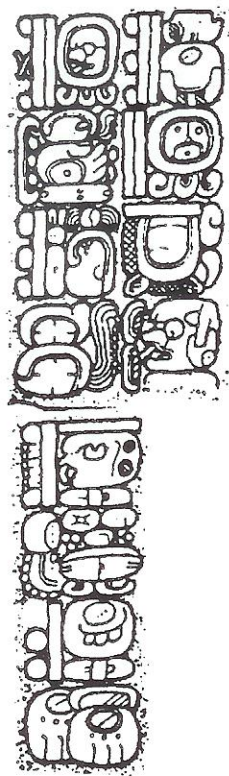
Nim Li Punit St. 14: He scattered in the company of the paddlers (?).



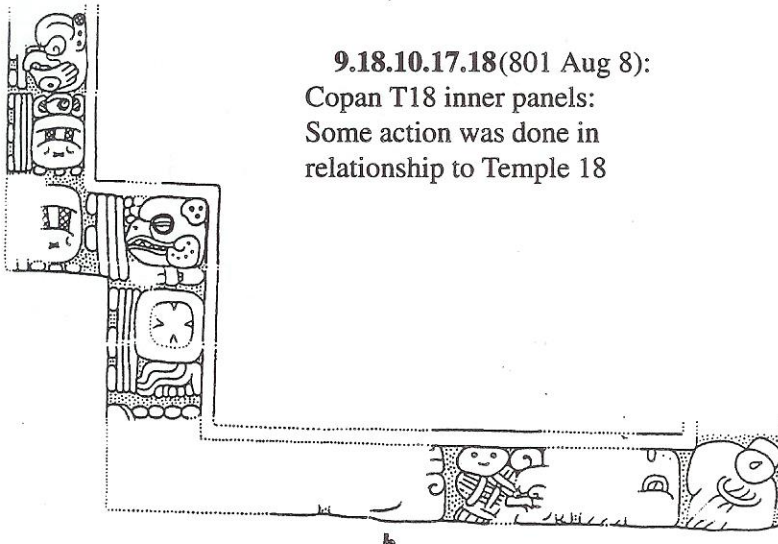
Dumbarton Oaks Stela: The stone was place by K'ak'nab Ak, K'ul Chak Ahaw in the company of Lady Tzak Kot A, Lady Bolon Okte K'u, Ol Si K'u. Several fragments of monuments with the glyph K'ul Chak Ahaw seem to come from the region of Chinikiha. It is possible that K'ul Chak Ahaw was the emblem glyph of the lords of that state.



9.18.10.7.4 (Jan 7, 801)
Machaquila St. 2: Ochk'in-
Kolomte Ah-Ho-Bak closed a
cache hole.

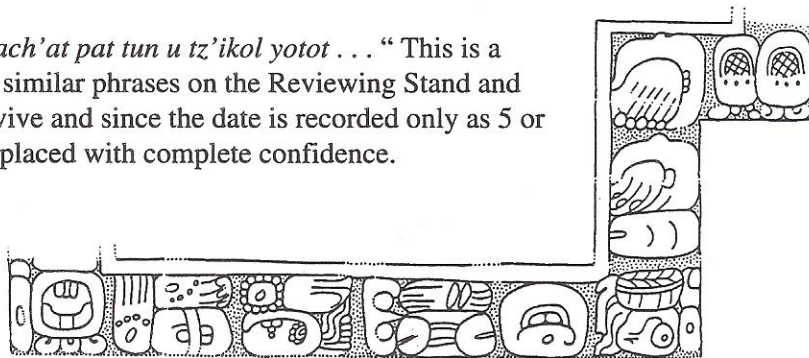


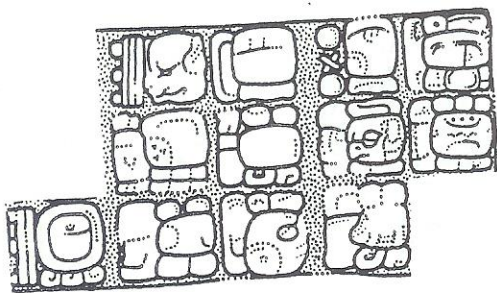
9.18.10.7.5 (Jan. 7, 801):
Machaquila St. 2: Ochk'in-
Kolomte Ah-Ho-Bak set the
stone stela.



9.18.10.17.18 (801 Aug 8):
Copan T18 inner panels:
Some action was done in
relationship to Temple 18

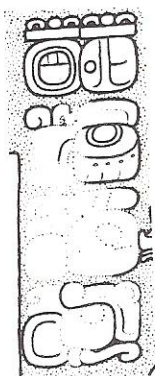
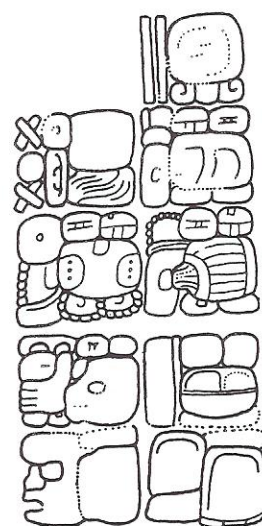
9.18.11.0.4 (801, Aug. 14): *Ch'ach'at pat tun u tz'ikol yotot . . .* " This is a
dedication phrase that is related to similar phrases on the Reviewing Stand and
Temple 11. The actor does not survive and since the date is recorded only as 5 or
10 K'an, the long count cannot be placed with complete confidence.



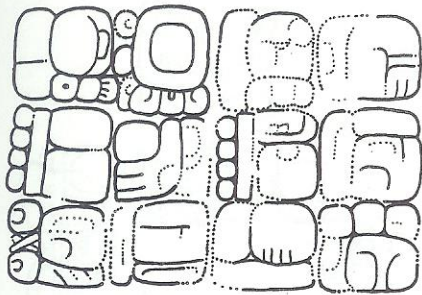


9.18.11.12.0 (Apr. 7, 802) La Amelia HS 1: Ah ?-ot of La Amelia became Ahaw in the company of the ruler of Aguateca. The name of the Aguateca lord is the same as the one from Aguateca Stela 7. Both use the mutul emblem glyph. The accession of the La Amelia lord in the company of the Aguateca lord suggests some kind of subordination.

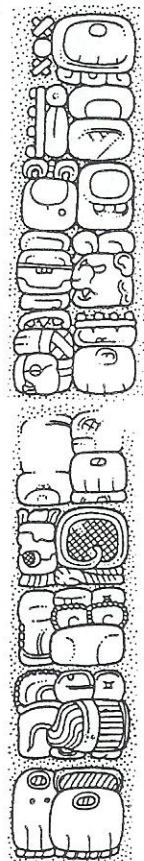
9.18.11.13.4 (May 1, 802) La Amelia HS 1: Apparently the accession ceremonies for the La Amelia lord lasted for several days. Here, the seating glyph before ti ahaw is missing. After the Mutul emblem glyph is another verb, *u ch'am* "he receives" that may record the supply of the new ruler with the symbols of his power.



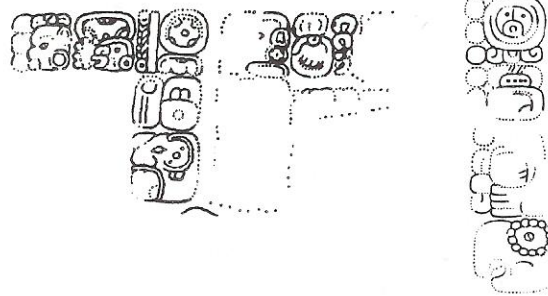
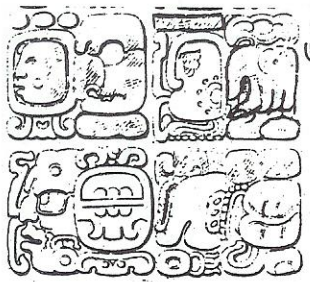
9.18.13.3.13 (Oct. 12, 803) Naranjo. St. 11: Itzam-K'awil engaged in a *puli* or "burning" event. This occurred on an inferior conjunction of Venus.



La Amelia 2: it was thrown; U-Chan-Balam was the name of the Bolon-Nab, ????. the ball of A-???-to Ahaw, Holy lord of Mutul.

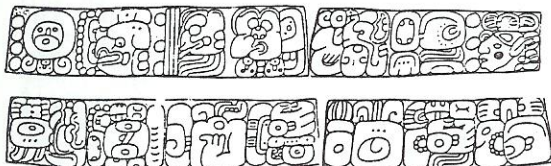


9.18.13.17.1 (July 6, 804) La Amelia HS 1; La Amelia Panel 2: The Panel and the Hieroglyphic Stairway share the date and the text: yalah, "it was hurled"; *u chan* "the caretaker of,"; *balamnai*; *u k'aba*, "this is the name"; *bolon nab* "of nine nab" (*nab* is a measure "hand's breath" in many Mayan languages. Could this refer to the circumference of the ball, or to the distance a heavy ball was hurled in the ballgame?), ?-lo k'ab "?-

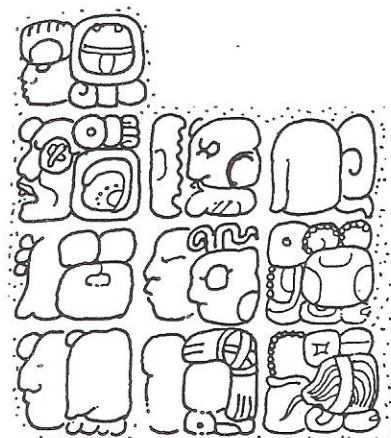


9.18.15.0.0 (Jul. 20, 805) Quirigua K: K'ak'-How (Jade Sky) scattered drops.

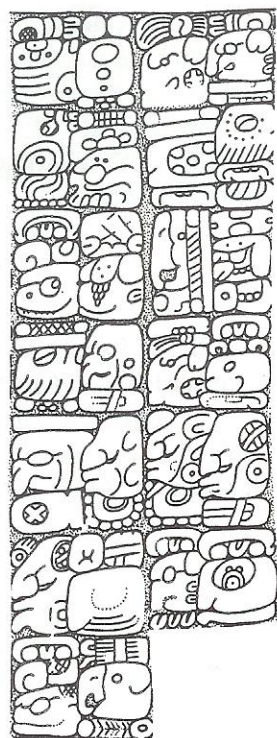
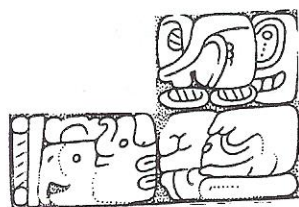
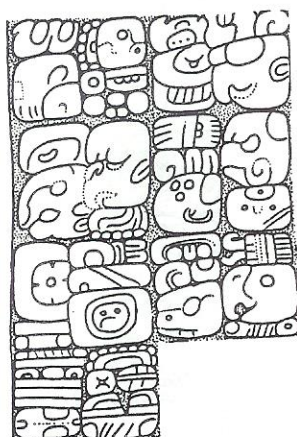
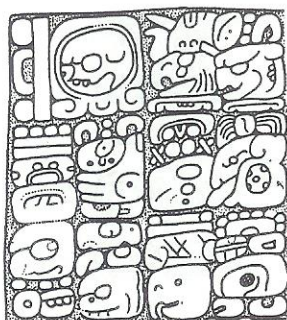
9.18.15.0.0 (Jul. 20, 805) La Mar St2: Mo', the ruler of La Mar celebrated the tun ending with two or three subordinates.



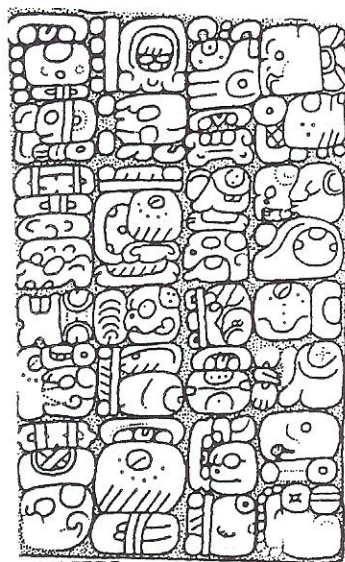
9.18.15.15.0 (May 16, 806) Tonina M95: Ruler *** dedicated a *k'an-tun* in the company of Yax-Chi-???, Wa-??-Chin Ahaw, Chakte.



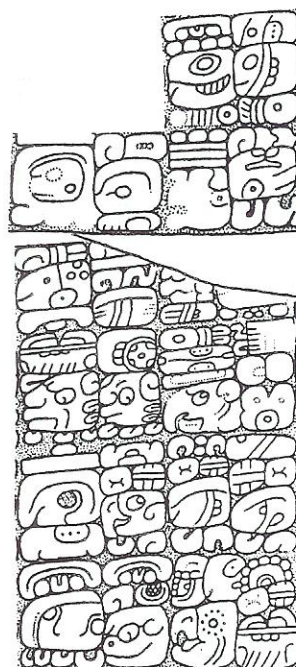
9.18.17.1.13 (Aug 12, 807) La Amelia 1: A-??-to Ahaw dedicated his stair.



9.18.17.12.6 (Mar. 12, 808)
Yaxchilan Lintel 10: Tab-Kimi
threw an unidentified object;
Star-shell event at K'utel Yaxha
??? ?? *lakamtun*; *susah*,
"sliced" something; an action
was done with the flint-shield
of Itzam-Balam III, captor of
Tah-Mo'; He of Yaxha ???
was captured.



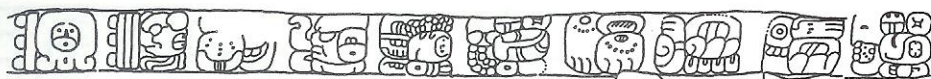
9.18.17.13.14 (Apr. 9, 808)
Yaxchilan Lintel 10: K'inich
Tab-Kimi threw the bones of
the captive in some sort of
ritual. This may parallel rites
with captive bones recorded at
Naranjo and Dos Pilas. We
suggest that the *lakamtun*
expression is part of a locative
that includes reference to a
lake or body of water.



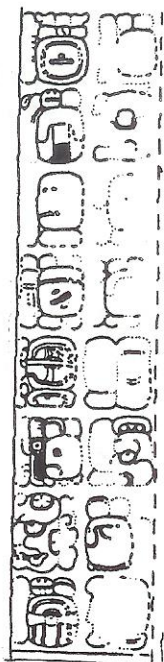
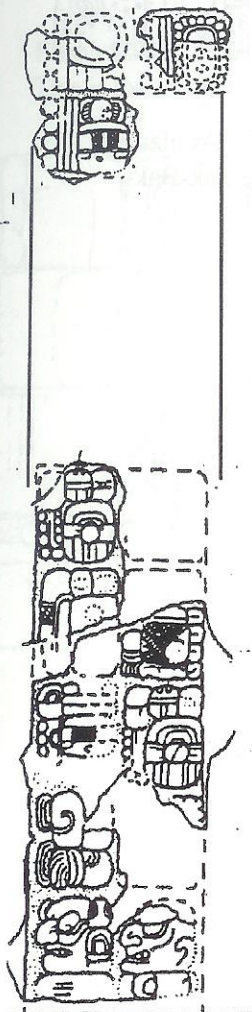
9.18.17.13.10 (Apr. 5, 808)
Yaxchilan Lintel 10: smoke
entered into the *waybil*, "shrine,"
of Ah K'ak'-Chak, ???, Yax
K'awil from the Sak-Bak-Na-
Chan; a action was done to or by
Wak-kaban, Yaxha
Ahaw under the auspices of
Tab-Kimi.

9.18.19.0.0 (June
29, 809) Puuc Style
Stela from the
Uaymil region,
Campeche: Sakhal
Bak was his day.





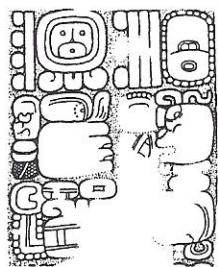
9.18.19.16.0 (May 15, 810) Quirigua Temple 1: He played ball, K'ak'-How, companion of Ha-ch'a-ta.



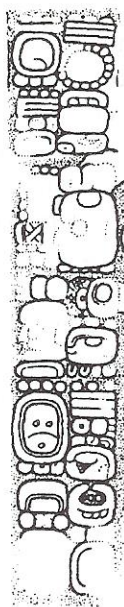
9.19.0.0.0 (Jun. 24, 810) Tikal St. 24: Nu-Bak-Chak II erected a stela near Temple III in the company of the Yukom He of Twelve Servants, Holy Lord of Aguateca. The presence of the Yukom title in the name of the accompanying lord identifies him as a member of the Calakmul sphere, rather than of Tikal's. The presence of this lord in the k'atun ending rituals suggest a reproachment between Tikal and the Aguateca polity.



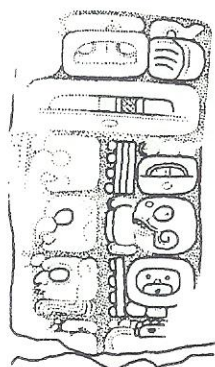
Quirigua Temple 1: K'ak'-How scattered, the companion of Ha-ch'a-ta: Yax Pasah of Copan also scattered at Quirigua.



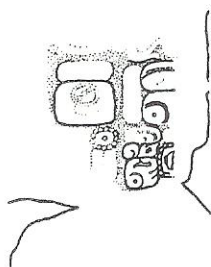
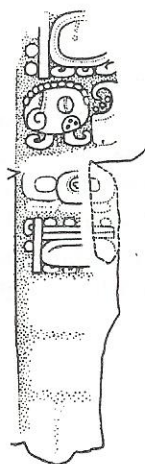
Naranjo St. 10: Itzam-K'awil erected a stone monument.



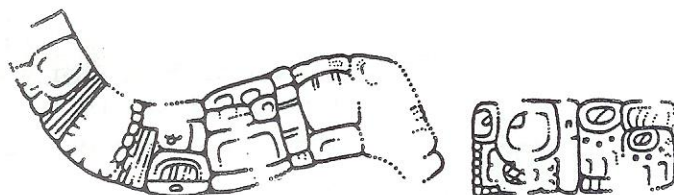
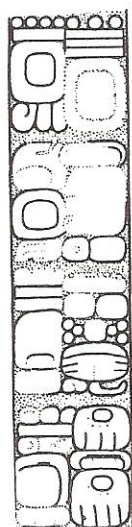
Naranjo. St. 7: Itzam-K'awil ended the k'atun at Naranjo.



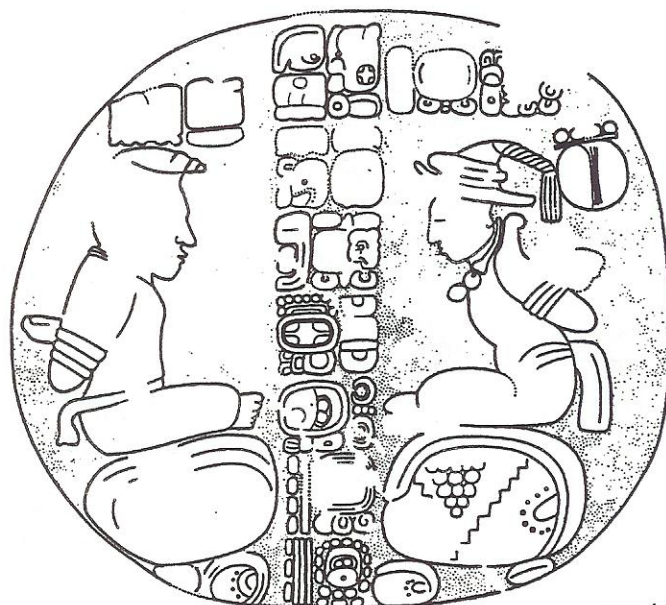
Waxaktun St7: a k'atun-ending rite was conducted. The name of the actor is missing.



Machaquila St. 2: The K'atun was celebrated by Ochk'in Kalomte.

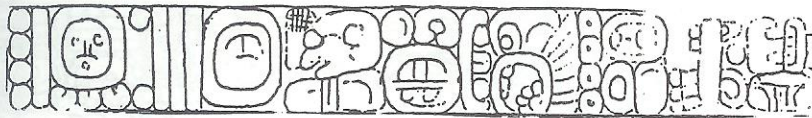


Caracol St. 18: K'inich Tobil-At planted a stone with an image of the Sak-Bak-Nachan.

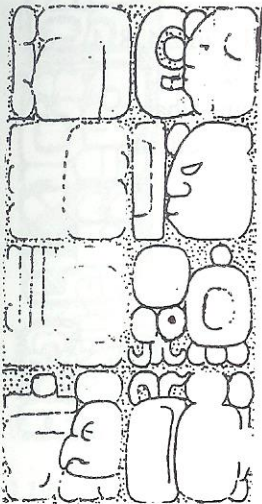


CRC ALT

Caracol Alt. 22: This monument from an outlying group probably recorded the capture of two lords; their places of origin cannot be identified any more. The lord who erected the monument was not the Caracol king, even though he makes use of the Caracol emblem glyph. This is evidence that members of the elite who did not reside in the epicenter became important enough to place their own monuments. The numbered ball behind the right captive's head indicates that these captives were probably bound up as balls, much like the captives on the Tikal altars.

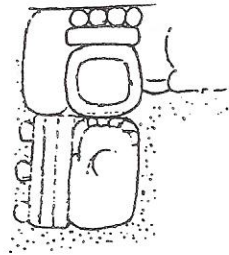


Edzna St. 9: The Lakamtun was planted by Ah ko-?, ?-wa, the same king who erected St. 5 at 9.18.0.0.0. This is the last dated monument at Edzna.

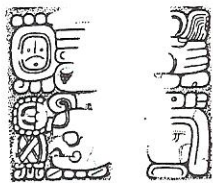
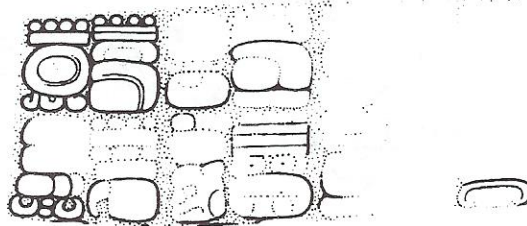


Calakmul St. 16: In this text, after Glyph A and between the Haab date, there seem to be two glyphs which again could be a record of "fire drilling".

Calakmul St. 15: Except for the date, nothing can be read.

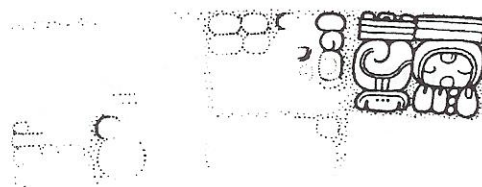


Mountain Cow Altar 2: This altar from Mountain Cow, Belize records nothing but the Initial Series date. The IS is written in an unusual syntax, with Glyph D, C, X, B and A immediately following the LC. The next three glyphs record an event related to *u k'ak' ak*, "the fire of the Peccary", perhaps a description of an astronomical phenomenon witnessed in the constellation Ak. The next two glyphs are G and F, and only then follows the full CR and the statement "completion of 19 K'atun".

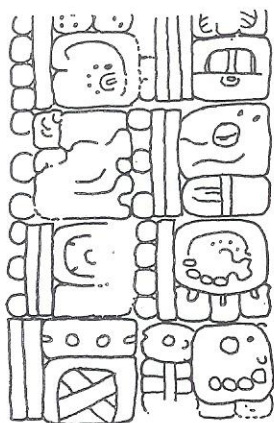


9.19.0.3.0 (Aug. 23, 810)
Naranjo St. 7; St.10: The stone was set by Itzam K'awil, Sak Chuwen. Like Machaquila, Naranjo also records erection dates for its monuments which fall on days related to creation (here, the 4 Ahaw day).

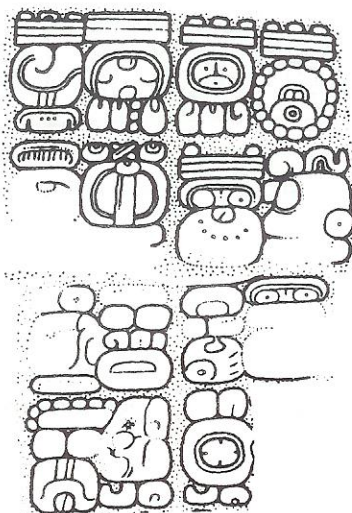
9.19.3.2.11 (Jul 29, 813) Naranjo St. 32: An event which falls before the accession of Waxaklahun Ubah of Naranjo.



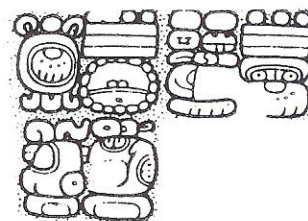
9.19.3.3.3 (Aug. 10, 813) Naranjo St. 32: This date can only be reconstructed through the DN which connects the "tying up" of the bundle of Waxaklahun Ubah with a previous event. If the syntax here is similar to Aguateca St.1, where the same "tying up of the bundle" occurs immediately after the death of Ruler 3 and before the accession of Ruler 4, the event described here should be the death of Itzam K'awil.



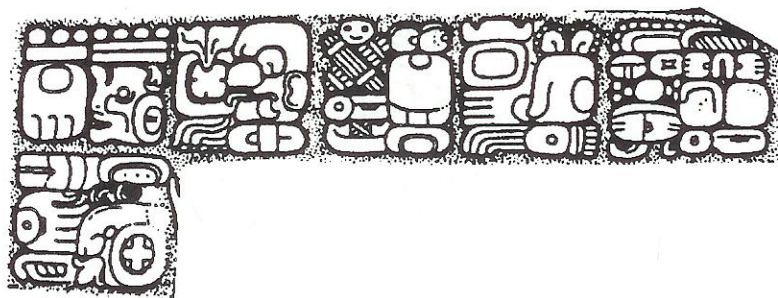
9.19.3.13.12 (Mar. 7, 814) Comalcalco brick:
The actor and verb is missing from this brick but given the 10 Sip date that occurs on all the dated bricks, we can infer that the brick itself was dedicated on this date.



9.19.4.1.0 (Jun. 23, 814)
Naranjo. 32: Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil enwrapped a bundle in the company of a palanquin-related deity.



9.19.4.1.1 (Jun. 24, 814)
Naranjo. 32:
Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil came out in ahawship.

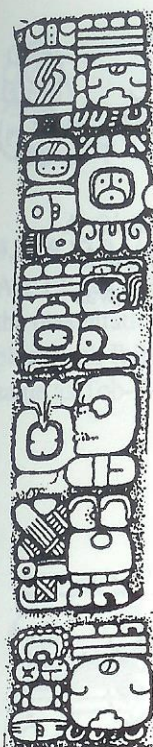


9.19.4.15.1 (Mar. 31, 815) Machaquila St. 3: Sih-K'in-Chak had the headdress displayed for him in his accession.



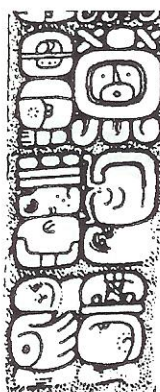
Naranjo. 32: K'uk'-Balam gave forty to the bundle (*ka-k'al ti ikatz*).

This day was near the maximum elongation of the Morningstar.

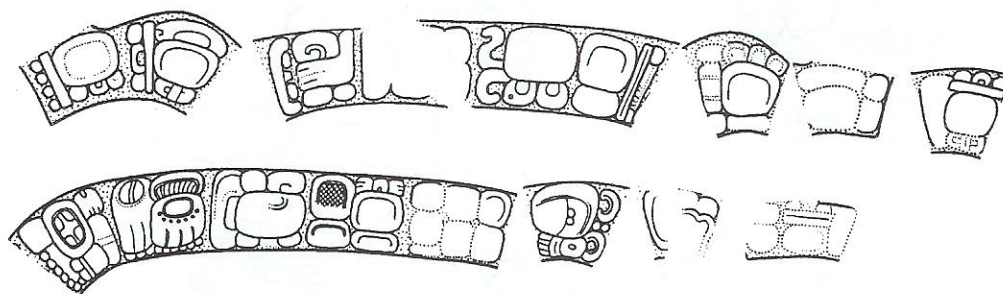


9.19.5.9.12 (Dec. 7, 815) Naranjo St. 32: K'uk'-Balam changed. He gave a hundred *ch'a?* to the bundle (*u tz'abul K'uk'-Balam ho k'al ch'a yakwa ti ikatz*). It's possible that the *k'uk-balam* is the item given to the bundle.

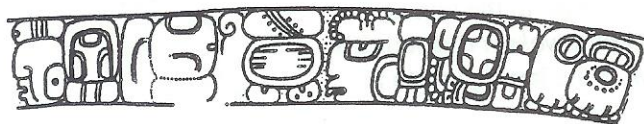
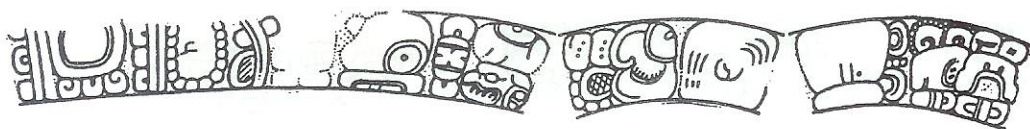
9.19.5.0.0 (May 29, 815) Machaquila St. 3: Sih-K'in-Chak set the stone.



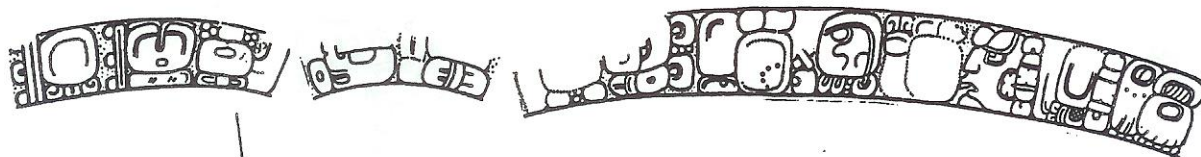
9.19.5.11.0 (Jan. 4, 816) Machaquila St.3: Sih-K'in-Chak witnessed the stone setting of the first hotun



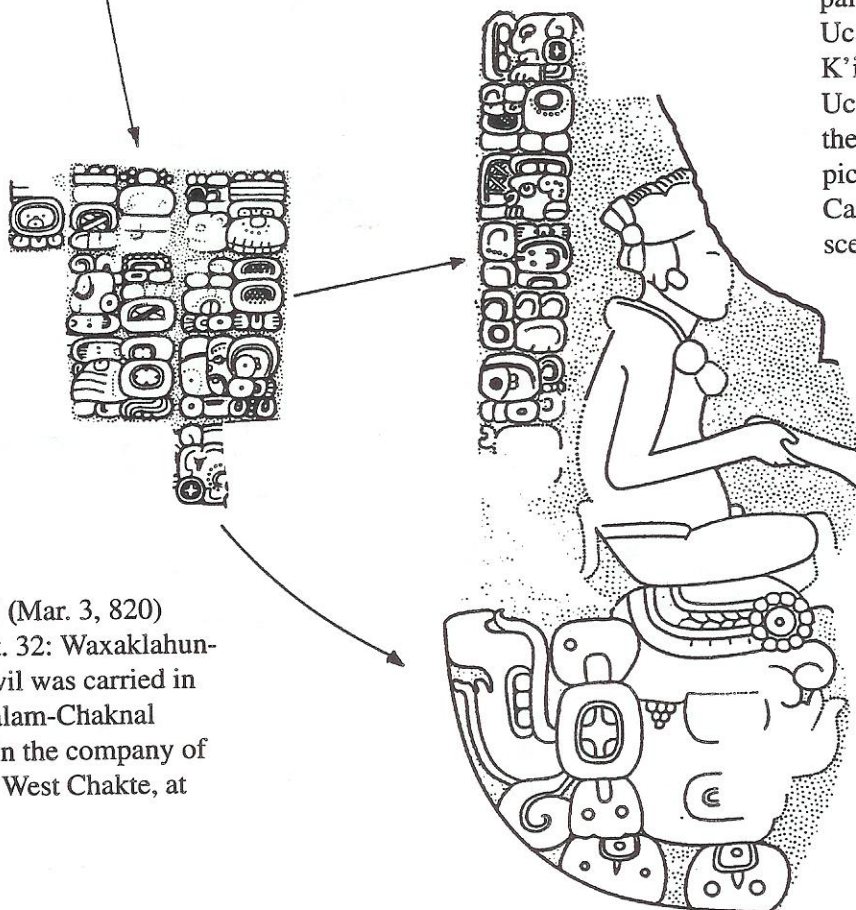
9.19.6.14.4 (Mar. 3, 817) Caracol Alt 13: K'inich Tobil-Toat threw something in the company of Papamalil of Ucanal and it happened at Ucanal.



9.19.8.1.15 (Jun. 17.817) Caracol Alt. 12: A Tikal lord, K'el-K'inich was decapitated. He was the captive of Tobil-At (who was the same person as Ibil-Tz'ab).



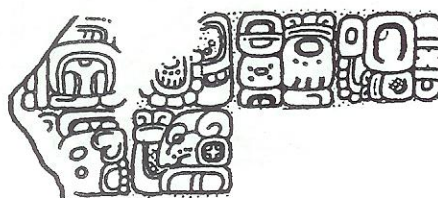
9.19.9.9.15 (Nov. 19, 819) Caracol Alt. 12: A palanquin was carried at Ucanal *u kahi* Tumol-K'inich. Papamalil of Ucanal is mentioned on the monument and pictured in front of the Caracol king in the scene.



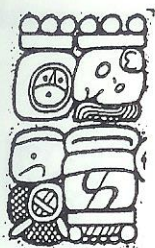
9.19.9.15.0 (Mar. 3, 820) Naranjo. St. 32: Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil was carried in his Nun-Balam-Chaknal palanquin in the company of Papamalil, West Chakte, at Ucanal.



9.19.9.17.0 (Apr. 12, 820) Caracol
Alt. 12: An unknown event, perhaps the presentation of a headdress, took place with Ibil-Tz'abal (who was the same as Tob-il-Toat.)

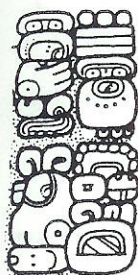
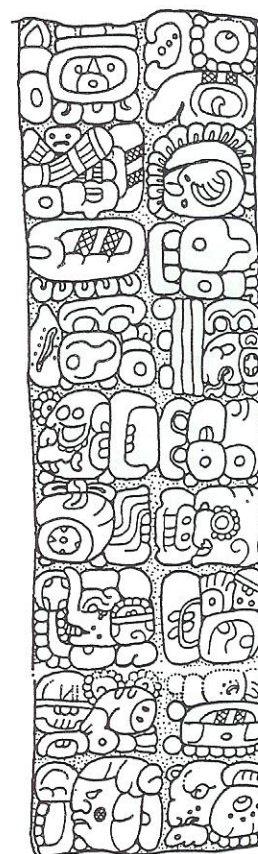


Caracol St. 19: a missing event by Tobil-Toat.

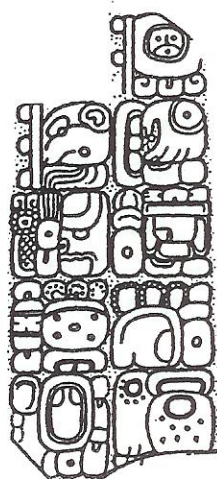


9.19.10.0.0 (May 2, 820) Machaquila St. 4: no event is specifically recorded for Sih-K'in-Chak

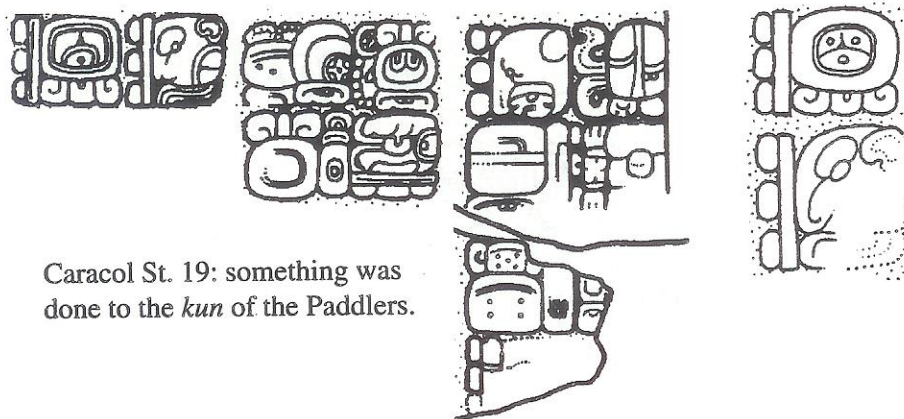
Copan Stela 11: The Ch'ok-te-na (lineage house) ended. The *tah* arrived; the flint ended; the Waxaklahun-Ubah-Chan ended. Yax-Pasah forced (or brought) out Yax-K'uk'-Mo'.



Naranjo. St. 32: Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil set the stone.

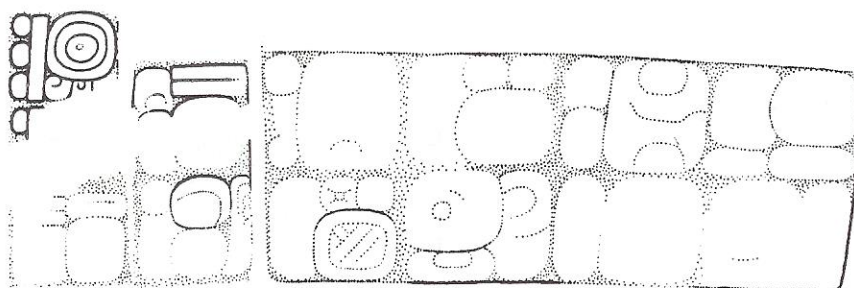


Caracol Alt 12: K'inich Tobil-Toat scattered drops.



Caracol St. 19: something was done to the *kun* of the Paddlers.

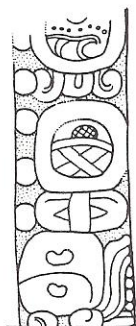
Caracol Alt. 13: Makal-Te had his tongue harvested. This is probably the small person kneeling before the king in the scene.



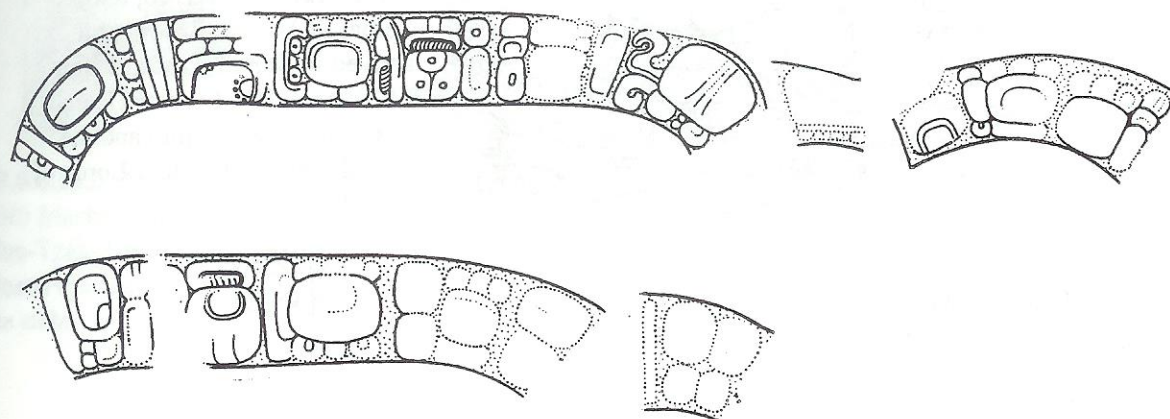
Xunantunich St. 8: Most glyphs are severely eroded. However, the text seems to mention the Naranjo emblem glyph. In the Late Classic, the eastern Cayo region and the area around the Mopan river probably was in the hegemony of Naranjo. This finds support in the text of the Buenavista vase mentioning Butz' Tiliw of Naranjo. In the Terminal Classic, Xunantunich became important almost at the same time as the last monument at Naranjo was erected. Was Xunantunich the place, where the Naranjo dynasty migrated, or did Xunantunich become independent "against" Naranjo, in a way similar to the Aguateca - La Amelia relationship? The lord named here before the possible emblem glyph certainly is not Waxaklahun Ubah from Naranjo Stela 32.



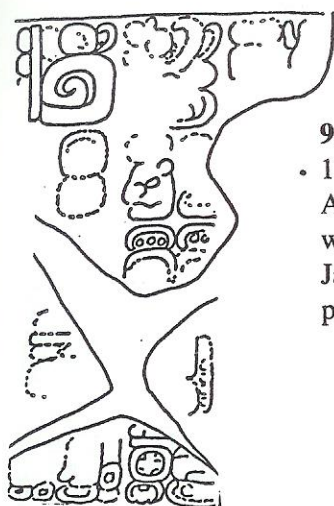
9.19.10.12.0 (Dec. 28, 820) Machaquila St. 4: Sih-K'in-Chak set the stone of the period ending.



9.19.11.14.5 (822 Feb 6) Copan Altar L: U-Kit-Tok' sat.



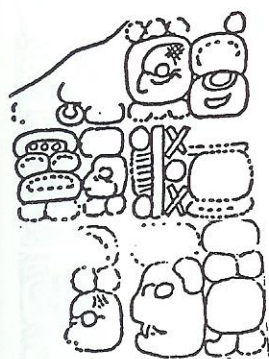
9.19.12.4.19 (Jul. 30, 822) Caracol Alt. 13: K'inich Tobil-Toat did a *ch'ak* event against Makal-te. (The interpretation of this date is problematic).



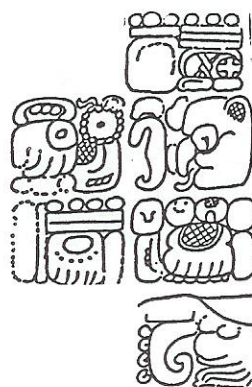
9.19.12.8.18 (Oct. 17, 822) ITZ St. 6:
An unknown event
with Deer Antler
Jaguar as the
protagonist.

9.19.15.0.0 (Apr. 6, 825)
Machaquila St. 8: Hun-Tzak-Tok'
observed the first hotun ending.

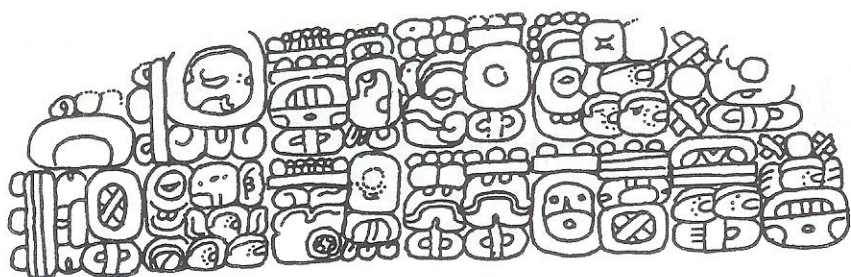
9.19.15.13.0 (Dec. 22,
825): Machaquila St. 8: Hun-Tzak-
Tok' closed the cache for the stela.



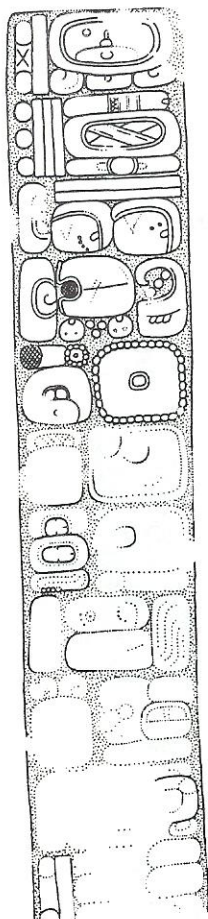
9.19.17.13.0 (Dec. 12,
827) ITZ St. 6: This text
mentions Balam, a lord
from a different polity.
Could this be a reference
to the captive shown on
the Stela?



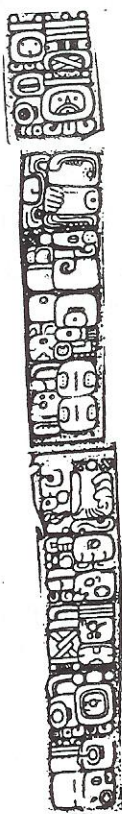
9.19.19.16.0 (Jan. 30,
830) ITZ St. 6: Ch'ah
was scattered by Deer
Antler Jaguar of Itzan.



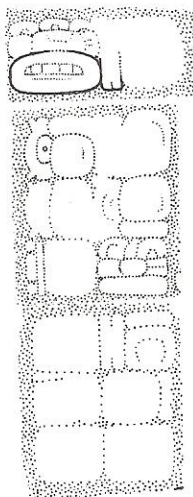
9.19.19.17.19 (Mar. 10, 830)
Seibal St.11: Ah Bolon-Abta
arrived in Seibal *u kahi* Ti Kan-
Ek' Waxak Pet, Lord of Ucanal.
The Kan-??-Palanquin and the
Waxak Palanquin, Holy Lords of
Seibal arrived.



10.0.0.0.0 (Mar. 11, 830)
Waxaktun St.13: Olom witnessed
the period ending. Someone else
set the tun.

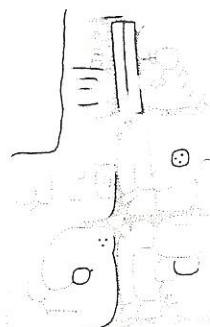
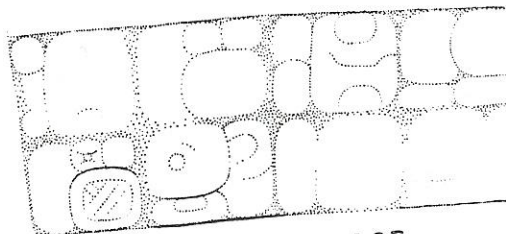
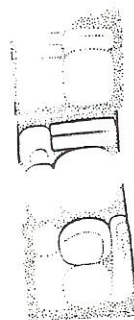


Machaquila. St.7:
Hun-Tzak-Tok'
observed the tun
ending.

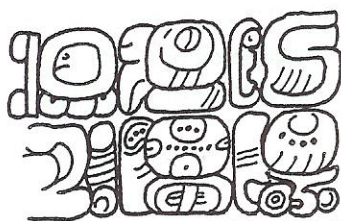


Xunantunich St.9:
Not much beyond
the date is readable.

Xunantunich St.8:
Not much beyond
the date is readable.

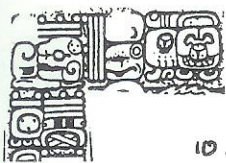


Xultun St. 8:
Except for the
date, nothing can
be deciphered.



Santa Rosa Xtampak
St. 8: Undeciphered.





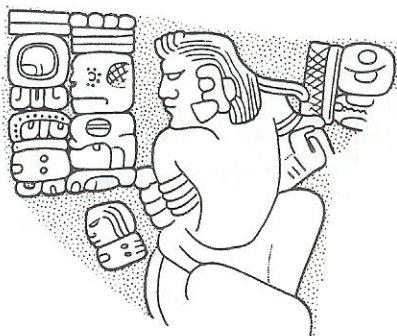
10.0.0.13.0 (Nov. 26, 830) Machaquila St.7: Hun-Tzak-Tok' closed the cache for the stela.



10.0.0.14.15 (Dec. 31, 830) Machaquila St. 7: *il-u-ba*, "he sees himself". The statement refers to Hun Tzak Tok', the Machaquila king, who admires himself in the Stela.



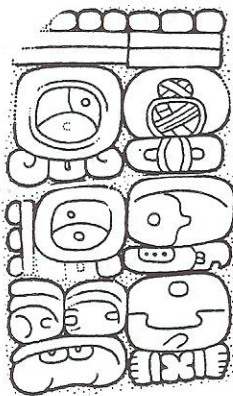
10.0.3.3.8 (May 2, 833) Xultun St.3: the king was born. (no name give in text.)



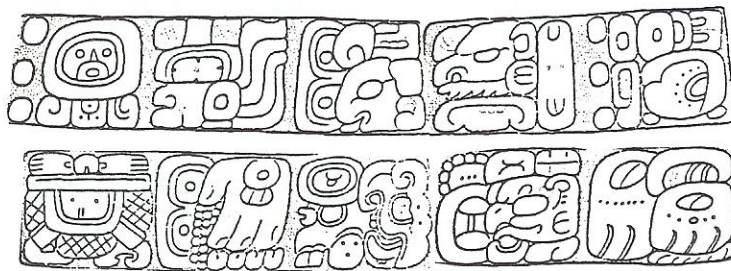
10.0.3.13.15 (Nov. 25, 833) Mountain Cow Alt. 1: Ah K'al-Bak arrived. This may have been the contemporary ruler of Caracol.



10.0.5.0.0 (Feb. 13, 835) Machaquila St. 6: the first hotun was celebrated.



10.0.5.0.0 Mountain Cow Alt 1: Tum-Ol-K'inich made it sacred. The date is written 13 Ahaw 13 Wo 6 Ahaw, which we take to be 13 Ahaw 13 Wo in the half-period named 6 Ahaw or 10.0.10.0.0. This is a very unusual way of anchoring a date. This text refers to an event whose agent is Tum Ol K'inich, the last king of Caracol.

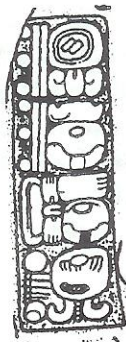


10.0.5.16.0 (Dec. 30, 835) Machaquila St.6: Hun-Tzak-Tok' set the stone.

10.0.7.9.0 (Aug. 1, 837) Tonina M104.: Uh-Chan celebrated the middle of the tun with a scattering rite.



10.0.10.0.0 (Jan. 18, 840) Machaquila St.5:
/ Hun-Tzak-Tok' did an event that is now eroded.



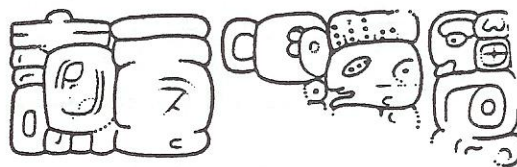
10.0.10.17.5 (Dec. 28, 840)
Machaquila St. 5: Hun-Tzak-Tok' closed his cache exactly twenty tropical years after the erection of Stela 4.



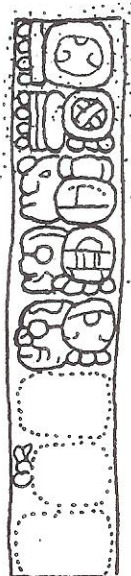
10.0.12.8.0 (Jun. 16, 842) Chich'en Itza High Priest's Grave: Some year's ago, Schele and Annabeth Headdrick reanalyzed this date and suggested that it should be placed at this lc position in opposition to the wisdom of the day, which saw it as the latest date at Chich'en. Our alternative was based on our belief that this date was not written in the style of Chich'en dates where the cr is locked into the lc by placing it into its named k'atun. Dave Kelley and others had assumed it was and that the k'atun was named in the last glyph 2 Ahaw, making it 10.9.0.0.0. It ends up we all were wrong.

This summer Peter Mathews and Schele had an opportunity to look at the original monument and at Merle's rubbings of it. The first two glyphs are the cr 2 Ahaw 18 Mol, but the third glyph is the name of the k'atun, unfortunately with the number too damaged to read. The date is 2 Ahaw 18 Mol in ???Ahaw. The earlier placement at 10.0.12.8.0 would fall into k'atun 5 Ahaw, while the place a cr later at 10.3.5.3.0 fell in k'atun 12 Ahaw.

The verb is *tz'ap tun*, "was erected or set up, the stone." The remaining part of the text is too eroded to read, although we suspect the name was written in the F2-F3. The remaining text may record a dn leading from or to the 2 Ahaw of the initial cr. We favor the earlier placement of the cr, but the second one is just as likely. If we are right in our placement, this is the earliest known date at Chich'en.

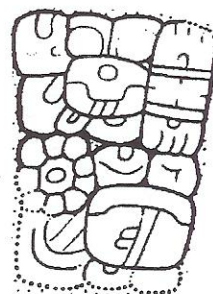
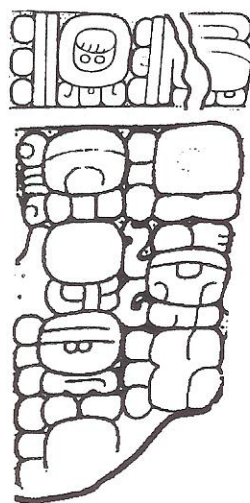
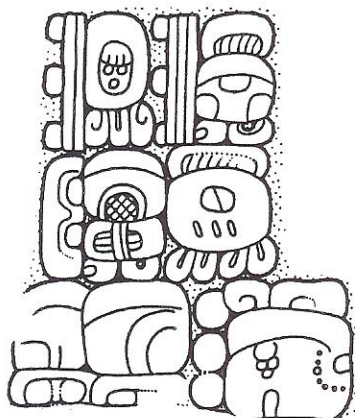


10.0.18.1.17 (Jan. 13, 848) Caracol St. 10: A dance event.

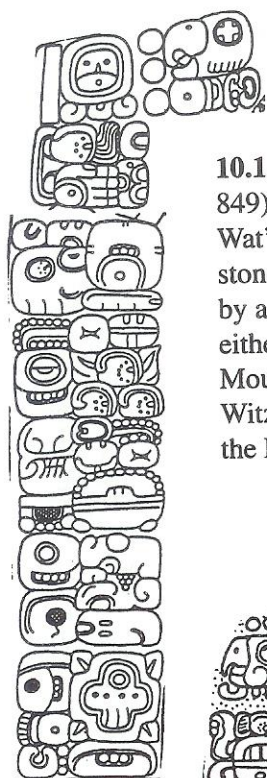


10.0.19.4.11 (Mar. 2, 849) Ixlu St.

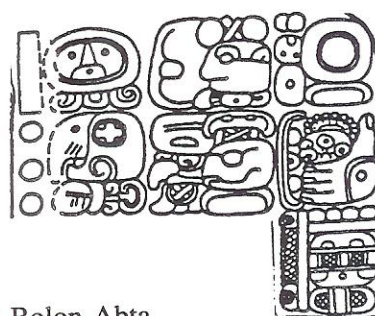
1: The text recording the action and actor do not survive, but the non-pe placement of the date suggests it was important historical. Because Tikal texts traditionally associated period-endings with accession dates, we suspect it was the accession of this lord.



10.0.19.6.14 (Apr. 14, 849) Caracol St. 17: He formed earth in the center of the kun of Ox-Witz (*U patwa kab tan kun Ox Witz*). We think that something was built in preparation for the period ending. We have considered that this refers to a clay platform or to an image of a god made from earth or Waxaktun .



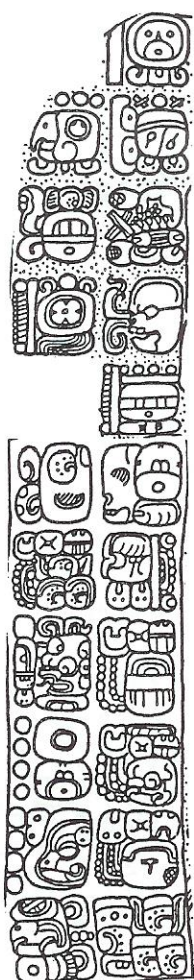
10.1.0.0.0 (Nov. 26, 849) Seibal St.8:
Wat'ul of Seibal set the stone; it was witnessed by a lord of Pu named either Twenty-Town-Mountain or else Hak-Witzil. It happened in the Plaza.



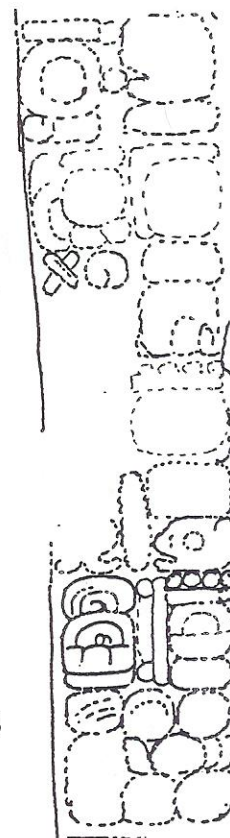
Seibal St.9: Ah-Bolon-Abta Ah-Hun-K'in-Butz' witnessed the K'an-?-Te Snake; he received (*ch'am*) god. Kan-Waxak-Ek', Lord of Lakamtun did something.



Seibal St.10: Ah-Hun-K'in-Butz' Ah-Bolon-Abta Wat'ul scattered; it was observed by ??-K'awil of Mutul; Kan-Pet of Calakmul; Kan-Ek' of Motul de San José; it happened in the center of Seibal.



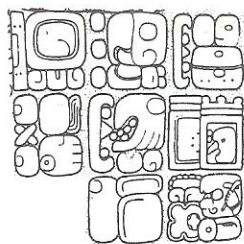
Seibal St. 11 The first k'atun occurred *u kahi* Wat'ul.



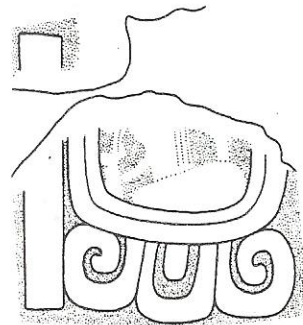
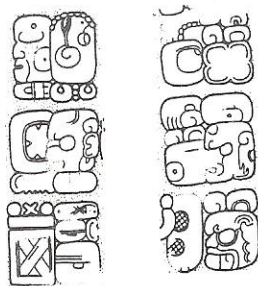
Seibal St. 21: This badly eroded monument stood inside Temple A3 at the center of the program of stelae. It is too badly eroded to be read, but the date and the protagonist can be made out.



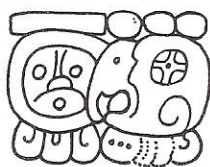
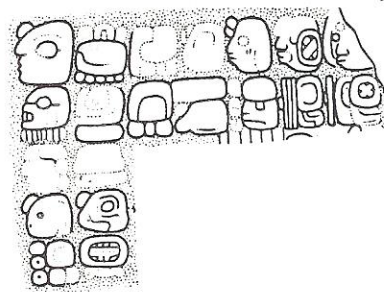
Xunantunich St. 1:
This short phrase
has the "beheaded
jaguar" glyph which
is both a way and a
title of GIII at
Palenque



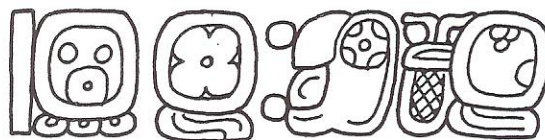
Ucanal St. 4: the stone was
set and ch'ah was scattered
by the Chak-te of Ucanal in
the company of two god



Itzimte St. 9: We cannot read
the text, but a stela was erected
at this site.



Flores St. 1: The rest of
the text is eroded.

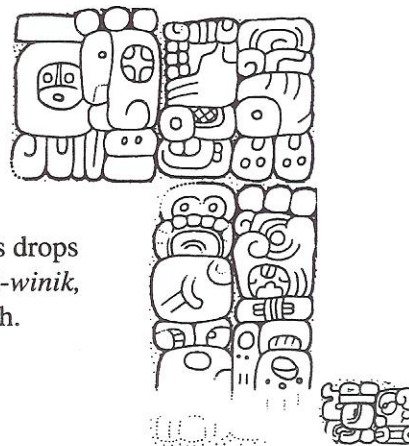


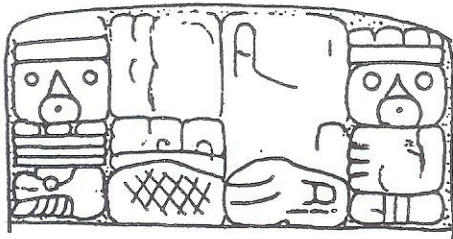
Oxkintok St. 3: From the long text, only the date
is well enough preserved for decipherment.



Caracol St. 10: The last date on
the monument, just a short K'atun
ending statement, also is the last
date recorded at Caracol.

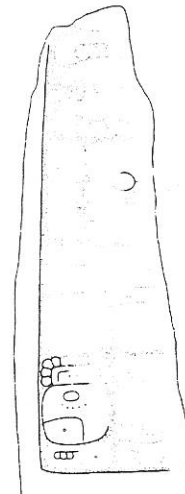
Caracol St. 17: He scatters drops
in the presence of *Ox-bird-wini*,
the god of Tum-Ol-K'inich.



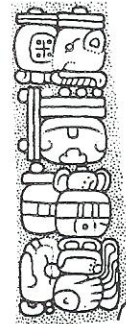


10.1.13.0.0 (Sep. 19, 862) Labna, Str. 1, Mask from Room 19: Only the date is written on the nose of a huge "Chak" mask.

10.1.5.0.0 (Oct. 31, 854) Stela in the Baluarte San Pedro, Campeche: The stone (?) was planted



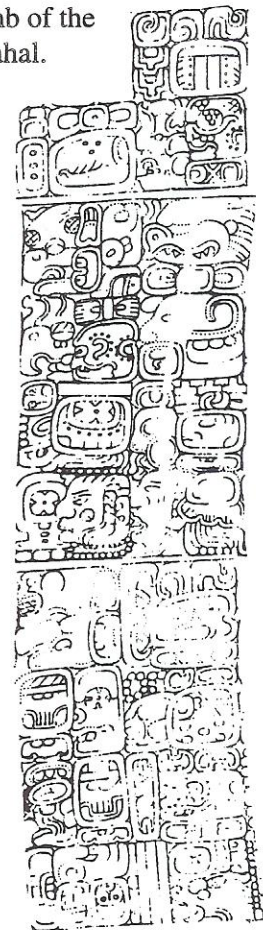
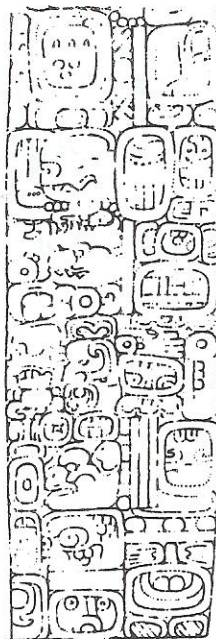
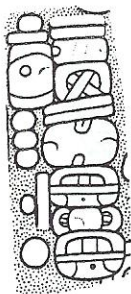
10.1.10.0.0 (Oct. 5, 859) Xultun, St. 3: The king set the stone.



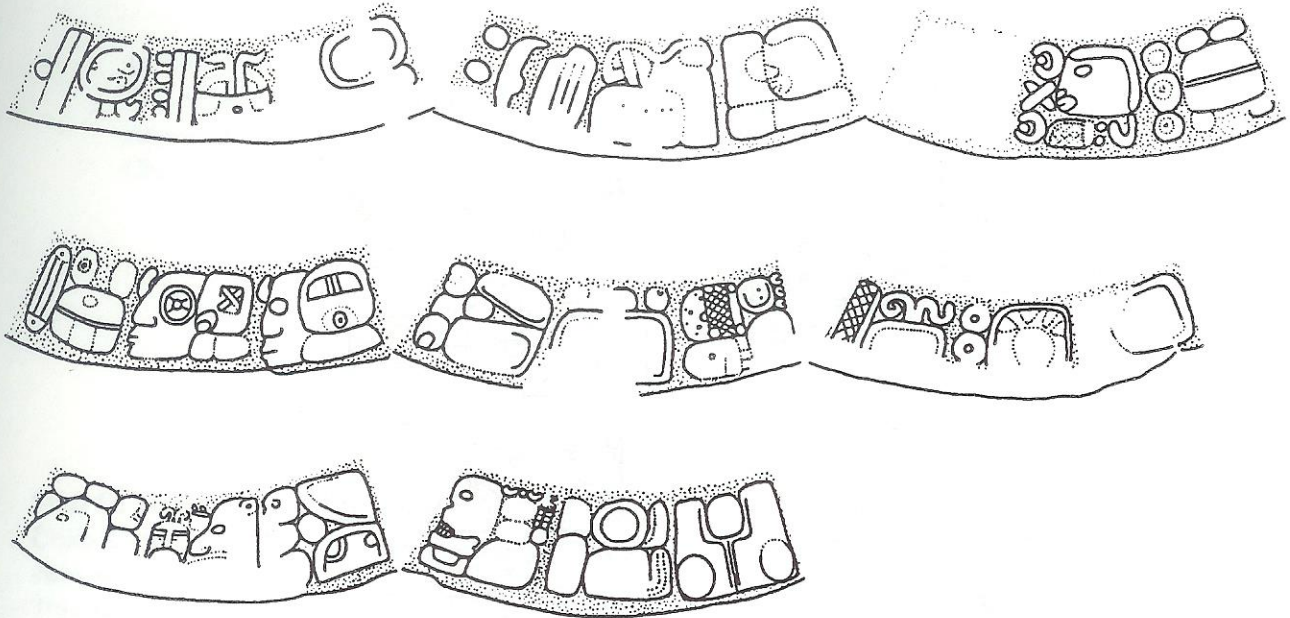
10.1.13.7.17 (Feb. 23, 863) Xultun St. 10: only a date is recorded and connected by dn to 10.3.0.0.0. We cannot say if this was a new accession or some other event.

10.1.14.0.14 (Sep 28, 863) Randall St: Balam-Chilkay, the sahal of K'ab-Chan-Te of Sak Tz'i, died.

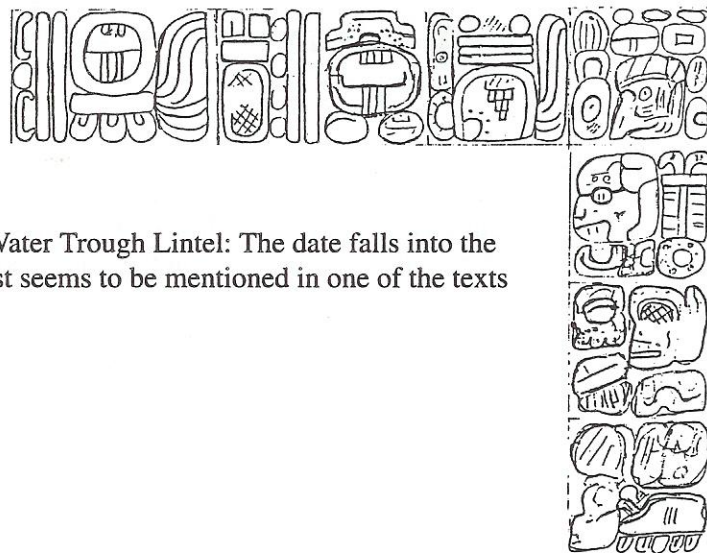
10.1.14.9.17 (Mar 29, 864) Randall St: Smoke entered in the carved stone of Balam-Chilkay, Sahal. The carved stone should be the tomb of the dead sahal.



10.1.15.0.0 (Sep 8, 864) Randall St: this period-ending was recorded at Sak Tz'i.



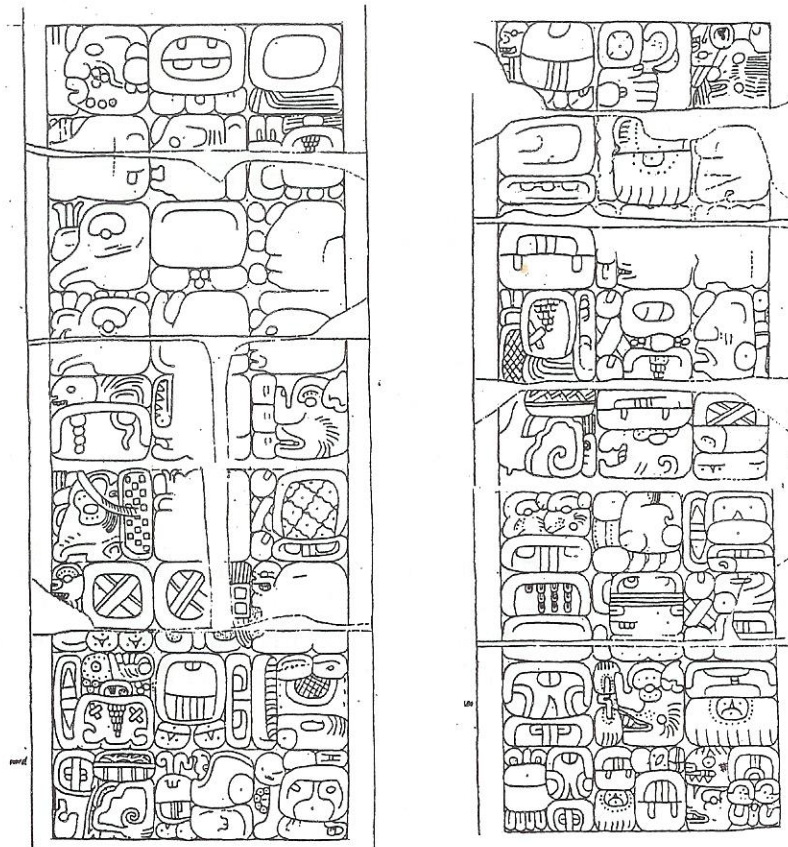
10.1.15.3.6 (Nov. 13, 864) Chich'en Itza Ballcourt Stone: The date of the Great Ball Court Stone was deciphered by Ruth Krochock, Peter Schmidt and Linnea Wren. The Great Ball Court Stone dates the Chichen Ballcourt much earlier than Tozzer believed, and makes it a Maya monument rather than a "Toltec" ballcourt. The text contains the ballcourt glyph, but not much more of the text can be read



10.1.17.5.18 (Dec. 25, 866) Chich'en Itza Water Trough Lintel: The date falls into the 18th Tun in K'atun 3 Ahaw. The protagonist seems to be mentioned in one of the texts from the Temple of the Four Lintels.

10.1.9.0.0 (Oct. 10, 879) Nohpat Altar 1: The date is the only text on this small altar.



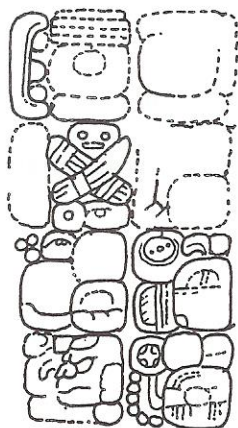


10.1.19.17.13 (Aug. 8, 869) Chich'en Itza Temple of the Hieroglyphic Jamb: We have read the badly eroded cr as 9 Ben 16 Sak placing it at this lc. Ruth Krochock read it as 9 Ben 1 Sak (10.2.15.2.1; July 22, 884), which is an equally viable alternative. In fact there are several other possibilities between these two extremes. The texts record dedication rituals for the carving and perhaps their painting.

10.2.0.0.0 (Aug. 13, 869) Itzimte Stela 12:
The stone was planted for the K'atun 3
Ahaw. This was the stone of a person called
Chak, who probably is shown in the center.



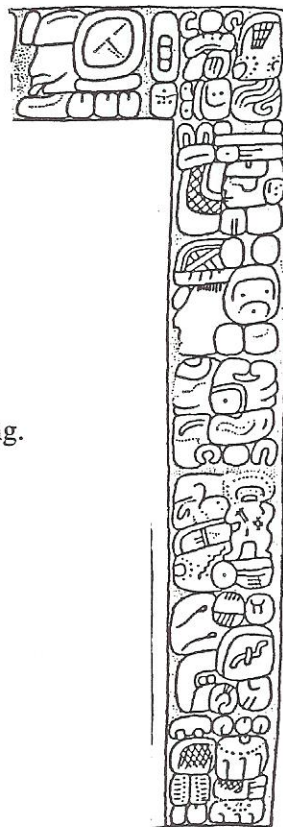
Tikal St. 11: Hasaw-
Chan-K'awil erected a
stela in the Great Plaza.
This day was distin-
guished by Jupiter and
Saturn in conjunction at
their stationary points as
they lay at the base of the
World Tree of the Milky
Way.

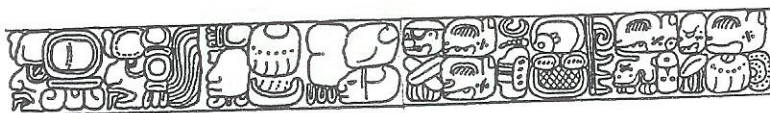


Seibal. St. 1:
Yax-Kalomte,
K'ul Itz'at set
the stone.

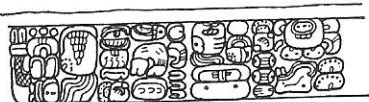
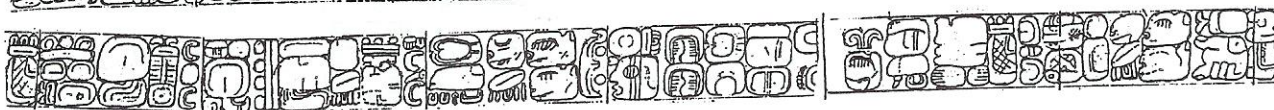


10.2.0.11.8 (Mar.
31, 870) Halakal
Lintel: Hun-Pak-
Tok' did something.

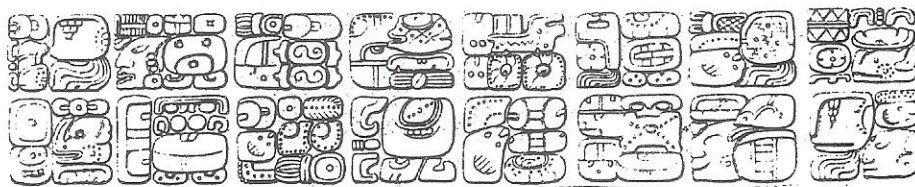




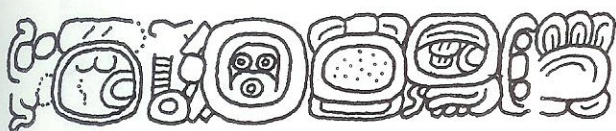
10.2.0.1.9 (Sep. 11, 869) Chich'en Itza, Casa Colorada: Fire was drilled by Yax Uk'u-? K'awil was his divine name. In the first Tun of (K'atun) One Ahaw. The fire was drilled by ?-u-?-ki was his name. In the first year of (K'atun) One Ahaw. And then he conjured the vision *tu k'in tu ba* (for the sun and for himself?), *tu ?-il*, K'ak'upakal, divine A-?-le wah, King of Wa-?-ta-a-bi.



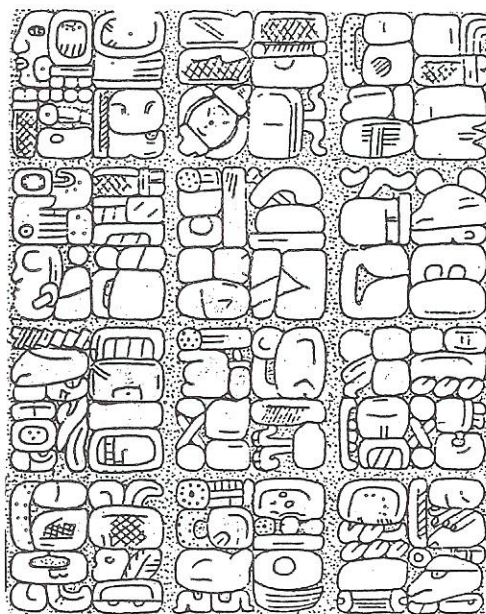
10.2.0.15.3 (June 12, 870) Chich'en Itza Casa Colorado: The second part of this text records another series of burning rites with either *pulhi ti k'ak'* or *hoch' u k'ak'*. The last actor is K'inich Hin-Pik-Tok' K'ul Kokom Ahaw, yahaw Cho??? (Jawbone-Fan). These fire and burning events occurred on the opposition of Saturn.



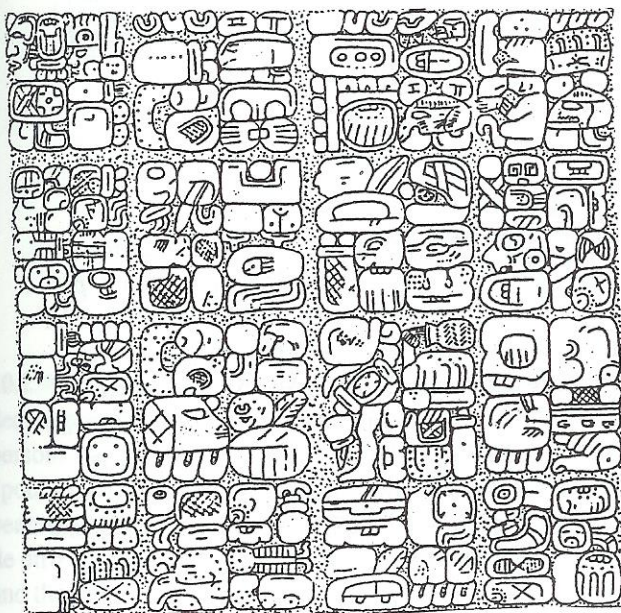
10.2.1.0.0 (Aug 10, 870) Chich'en Itza Ak'ab Tz'ib: "dedicated" the carving of the second door (*petah yuxulil u ka ol*) for the *U wakwak Pu ak Nah*, the holy house Yahaw Lach—"flower" K'inich Ba-?-la K'ul Kokom. And the holy stone was sculpted by SahK'in, the son of Ix-At-Multun, Holy ???. This lintel seems to identify the Ak'ab Tz'ib as a residence of the Kokom family.



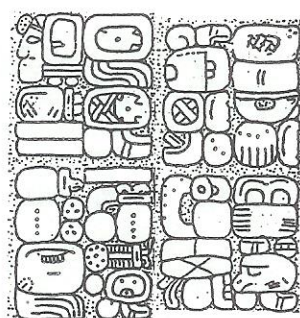
10.2.2.0.0 (Aug. 3, 871) Santa Rosa Xtampak St. 3:
The stone was planted.



10.2.3.12.1 (Mar. 26, 873) Yula Lnt. 2: The text starts with a dedication passage. The rest of the text remains mostly obscure.

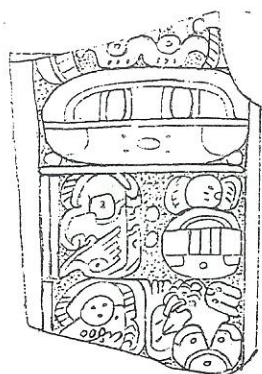


10.2.4.8.4 (Jan. 5, 874) Yula L.1: *Pulah ti k'ak' kan tzuk tan ?? nab*, "it was thrown into the fire, four partitions in the center ???". K'ak'upakal arrived at the Ballcourt.



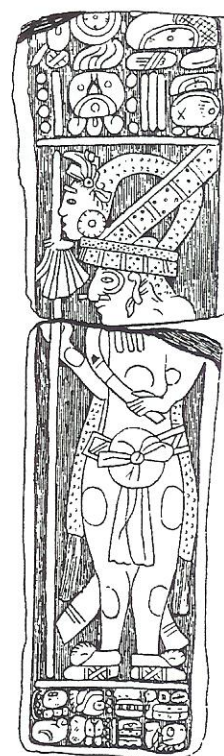
10.2.4.8.12 (Jan. 11, 874) Yula, Lintel 2:

This clause connects the earlier events on this lintel to events occurring four days after the Lintel 1 events.

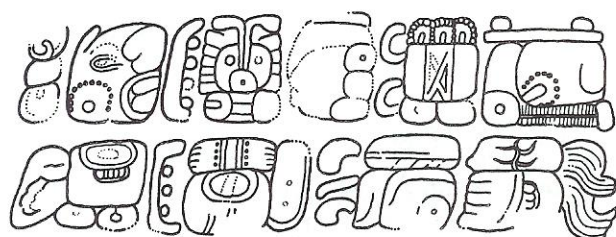


10.2.5.0.0 (July 18, 874) Sacchana St. 1: no name or event preserved, but a stela was carved.

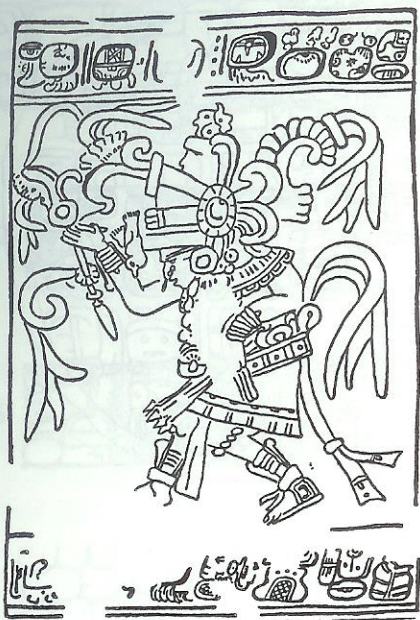
Comitan St. 1: Blom's drawing of this monument is very difficult to read, but



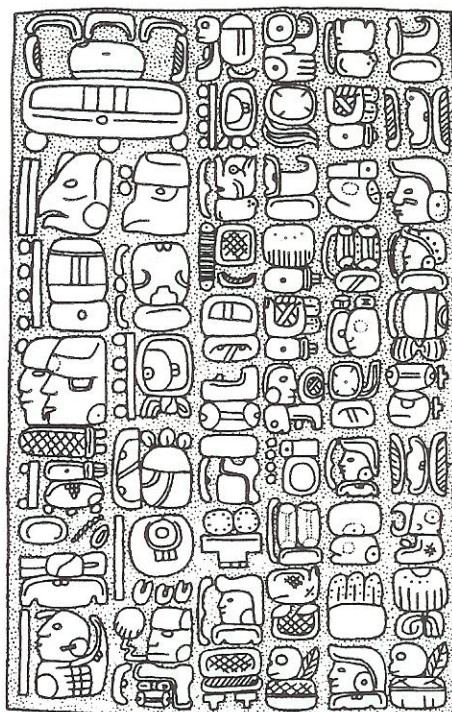
10.2.5.3.10 (Sep. 26, 874) Seibal St. 3: This date cannot be locked into the lc with security. The glyph following the cr appears to be the combination of GI and K'awil that was most likely the patron gods of Seibal.



10.2.7.0.0 (July 7, 876) Kabah, Glyph Panel from Manos Rojas: The date of the panel is written 7- *pi-tun ta ahaw* "in the seventh Tun of Ahaw". When no coefficient is written with the Ahaw glyph, it very likely represents "one", as it does in many other instances. The text records the carving of *u xok*, "the writing/the reading of" a person who probably is named in the third glyph. The fourth glyph may be a title of this individual. The first glyph after the ahaw glyph is *u tz'ibal* "the writing of" *ya-yotoch*, "the house of" *tz'u-su-ni*?

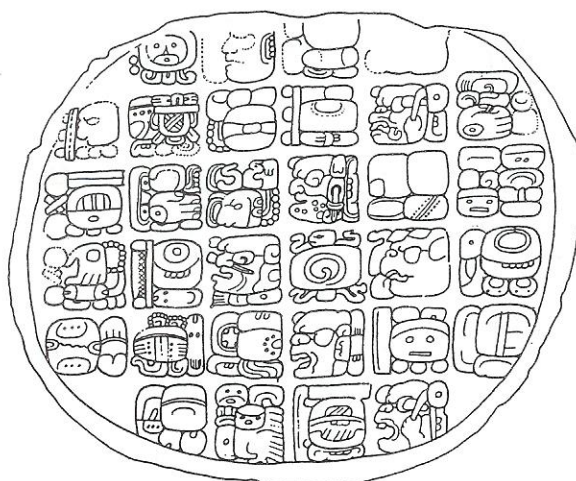


10.2.8.10.4? (Jan. 22, 878) Chich'en Itza
 Capstone 1: The first glyphs of the text may refer to the scene, which probably shows the Venus God Lahun Chan. The first glyph after the date has been interpreted tentatively by Elizabeth Wagner as a syllabic spelling of the "Step" dedication verb. There is good evidence that the "Step" verb reads *t'ab*, "to cover with stucco, to finish a carving". Here, it precedes the glyph *mak*, "capstone", which is a good argument that the preceding glyph indeed is a dedication verb. The dedication verb is spelled here with a rare affix (T66?), the possible *t'a* sign, and the *ba* syllable. The text in the lower band is too eroded to suggest any readings.



10.2.9.1.9 (July 26, 878) Chich'en Itza Temple of the Initial Series: After the Initial Series date, there is a dedication text for the sculpture of the lintel of the house of Chok Wata, who probably was one of the four persons called *u kokol u chuwen*, or *u chuwen kanak*. The *kokol* expression could refer to Yukatek *kokohki* "poner juntas cosas semejantes", and *ka'nak* may in the same way refer to the fact that four lords, or four bearers of the Chuwen title were living together--note Yukatek *ka'nak* as "dos juntas, arimadas; acompañado de otro en el gobierno, coadjutor". The front edge of the lintel is carved with a text that deals with the flint and the *kaban* of Yax-Rabbit Chekan and his companions.

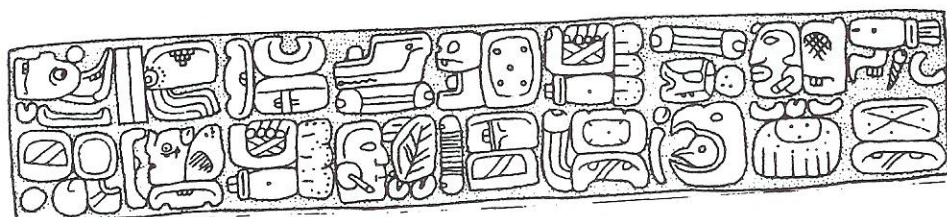
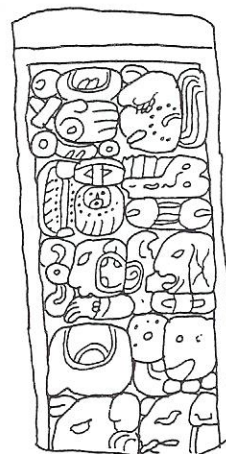
10.2.10.0.0 (Jun. 22, 879) Ixlu Alt 1: The lahuntun was celebrated by a scattering conducted by Ah K'al Bak Tok'ak'il in the company of an unknown person who was a Chak-te. He uses the Tikal emblem glyph in his name.



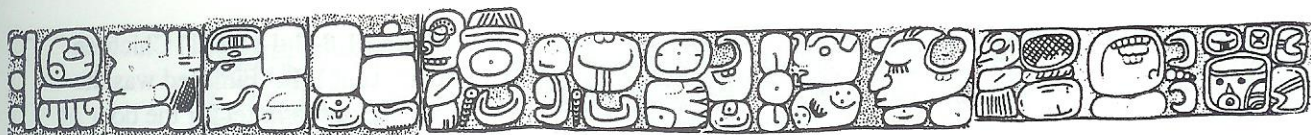
Jimbal St.2: ?Xik-K'awil scattered incense. The name of this lord differs from that of the ruler of Ixlu and the father that is named in the parentage statement does not corresponds to Hasaw-Chan-K'awil, the man who ruled Tikal at 10.2.0.0.0. We suspect Jimbal did not consider itself part of the Tikal polity.



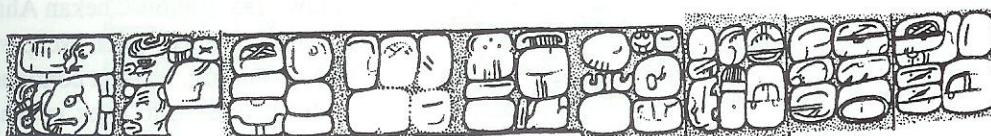
Sacchana St 2: Balam set the stone, scattered, and called a vision serpent.



10.2.10.0.0 (June 22, 879) Chich'en Itza, 3 Lintels, Lnt. 3: The carving was finished of the house of Chok wa-? Abi, the patron of the house of K'inil Ko-?-l, son of Lady K'ayam Tiwiy Flint.



Lintel 2



10.2.10.11.7
(Feb. 4, 880)
Chich'en Itza
Monjas

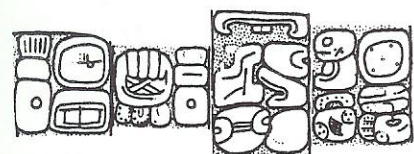
Lintel 6



Lintel 5



Lintel 6

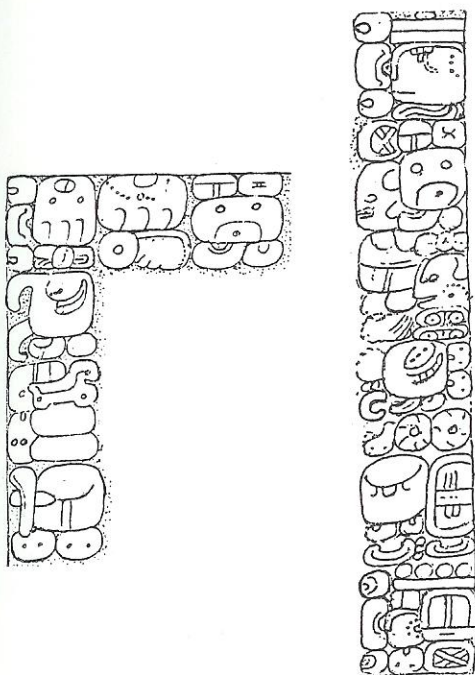


Lintels: This date occurs on all Monjas Lintels. It is the date when the carving was finished and the lintels were placed. The texts are standardized dedication texts: "It

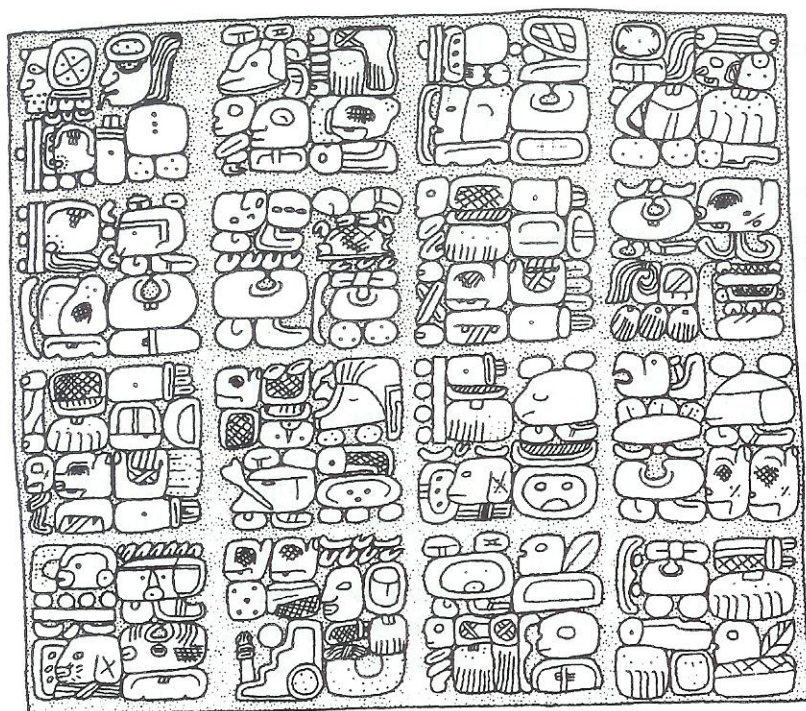
happened the placement of the carving of the lintel-stone for the house of..." The glyphs that follow spell the names of the persons who resided in the particular rooms of the Monjas complex. No hierarchical relation exists be-

tween the residents of the Monjas complex. Some of them are members of the same *yitah* set. This has been seen as evidence for a Multepal form of governance. It is also possible that the Monjas complex was the residence of elite representatives from each province of the large regional state of Chichen Itza. These representatives were drawn to the capital, like the

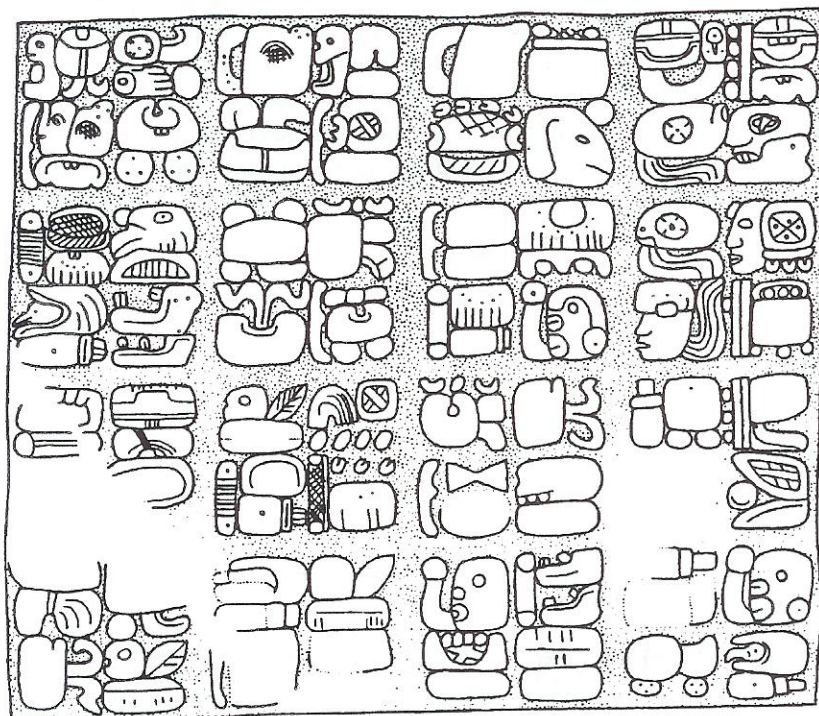
nobles that co-ruled at Mayapan and who, according to the *Relaciones de Yucatán*, had been drawn from into the capital from different provinces. In the future we should try to analyze the name phrases of the residents in order to see whether they contain references to locations or names of polities. The social function of the Monjas complex thus was to be a Popol Nah, a community house.



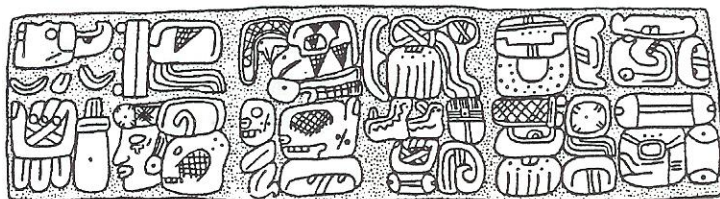
10.2.11.0.0 (Jun 18, 880) Chich'en Itza Ak'ab Tz'ib:
The sculpture was dedicated?? by Yahaw Lach-"flower"

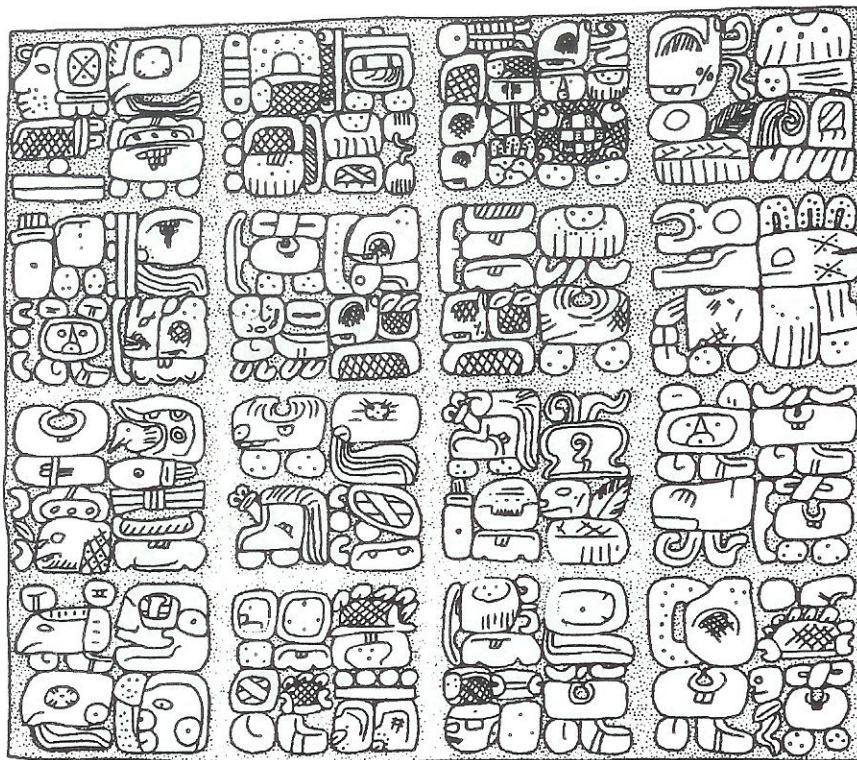


10.2.12.1.8 (Jul 11,881) Chich'en Itza 4 Lint I, II: Finished was the carving of the lintel for the door of the house of the divine Bolon Ahaw, Yax-Rabbit-Chekan Ahaw. After a sentence which escapes understanding, the text continues with a reference to K'ak'upakal as ballplayer, then the date and the finishing of the sculpture of the lintel for the door of the house of the Bolon Ti Kab Ahaw, Yax-Rabbit-Chekan Ahaw is restated, and a relation is expressed to K'inil Ko-?-land two of his *yitah* companions, who were *yahaw k'ak'*, "Lord of the fire". Ruth Krochock worked out much of the decipherment of the four lintels in her MA thesis.

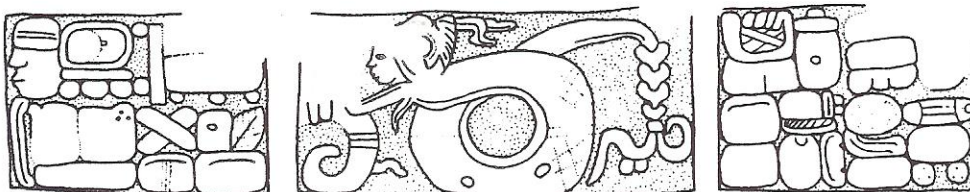
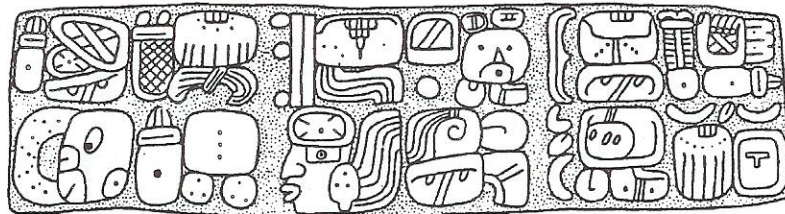
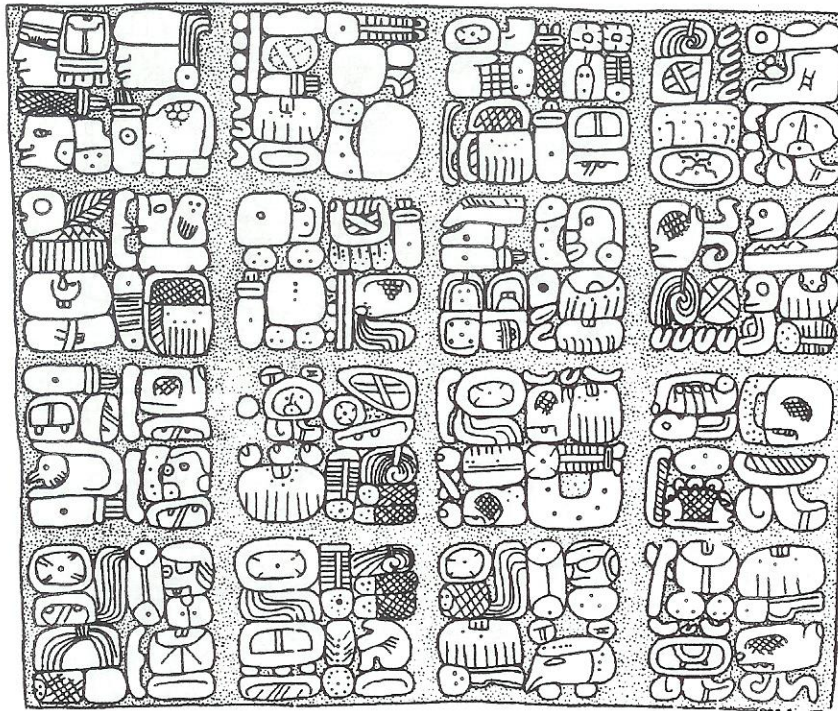


Lintel 2 has the same date recorded in the final column. It also records the finishing of a lintel

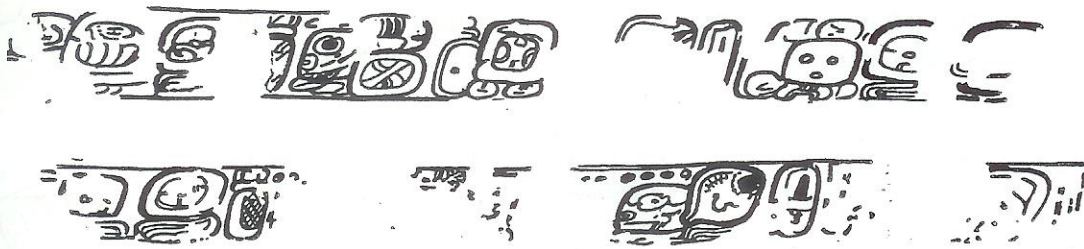




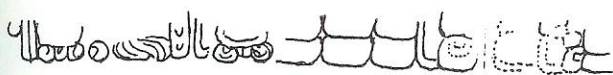
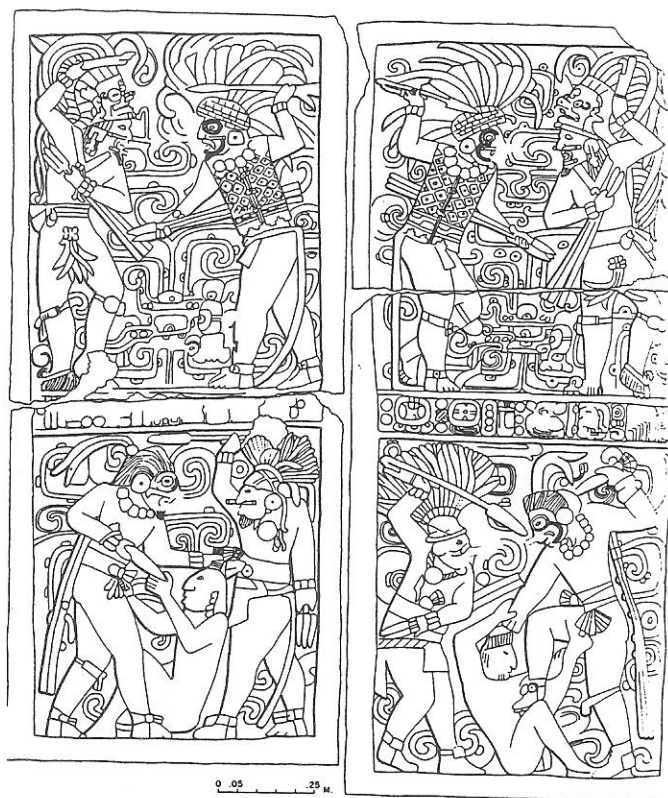
10.2.12.1.9 (Jul 12, 881) Chich'en Itza 4 Lint I: *uxulnahak u pakab til u k'al yotot*, "was sculpted the lintel of the door for the house" of Bolon-Ti-Kab Ahaw Yax-???, Chekan Ahaw ????, was the name of the ???-ki K'inil-Kimi, Ch'ak Ol Bate' Yahaw K'ak' yitah. "companion of" A-k'e Tok'.



10.2.12.2.4 (Jul. 25, 881) Chichén Itza 4 Lint II: The text starts with a dedication of the lintel for the door of the house of the divine K'inil Ko-?-l, who saw *utzil*, "good things". On the next day, the event is *chan-ba*, a word glossed in the Cordemex as "fiesta". The next glyphs constitute a couplet: *ta yilil k'in, ta yilil imal*. "to observe the sun/the day, to observe *imal*". Then follows another passage recording the dedication of glyphs on the lintel for the house of the divine ?. After the couplet *u k'in y-ak'ab* "the day and the night of" follows the sentence *u pul ta k'u* "he throws it onto the God", and the name of the agent, K'inil Ko-?-l. The text ends with a list of K'inil Ko-?-l's *yitah*-companions. The front side of Lintel 4 records a phrase *y-ilwa utzil ta y-otot y-a-?-wa yabnal*, "good things/precious items were seen at the house of the ya-?-wa of Chichen". Erik Boot pointed out that the last glyph could be a reference to the ancient name Wuk Yabnal of Chichen Itza, as recorded in the Chilam Balam books. The same date is also written on the front edge of Lintel 4. This text also refers to a house dedication by K'inil Ko-?-l, one of the most important members of the Terminal Classic Chichen Itza confederacy.



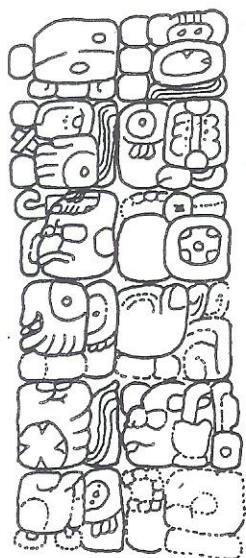
10.2.13.13.1 (Feb. 22, 883) Chich'en Itza Monjas, East Wing, Room 2 capstones: Besides the date, nothing can be read.



These are our field drawings with the two versions of the name shown



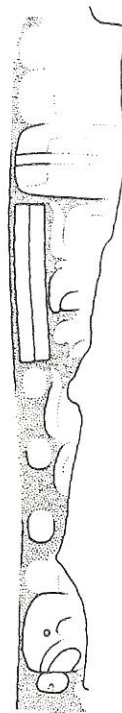
10.2.13.15.11 (Apr. 13, 883) Kabah, Str. 2C6 jambs: Except for the date, the text has not been deciphered. However, our own examination of the texts during the summer of 1994 suggests the text on the right refers to the death of someone named either Tan or Chak-Na. Presumably he is the captive shown. The other text is too damaged to recover further information.



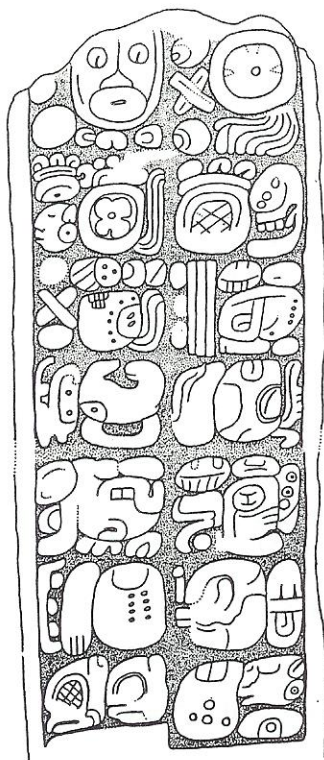
10.3.0.0.0 (Apr. 30, 889)
Waxaktun St12:
Hasaw-Chan-
K'awil of Tikal
set the stone and
scattered for the
k'atun.



Seibal St 18, 20: The
k'atun ending was
celebrated by a person
named K'apa-Sak-Nik
??. This should be the
last king of Seibal who
erected a public
monument. Stela 18
should the king or a
conjured being seated
on a Vision Serpent
rising out of the Sak-
Bak-Na-Kan.



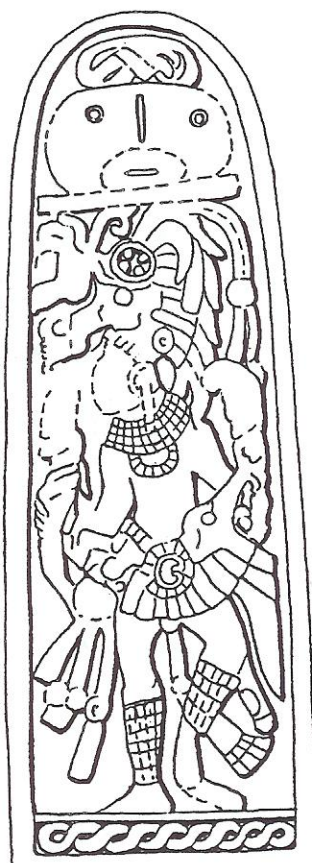
Xultun St.10: the
text recording the
events is now lost.



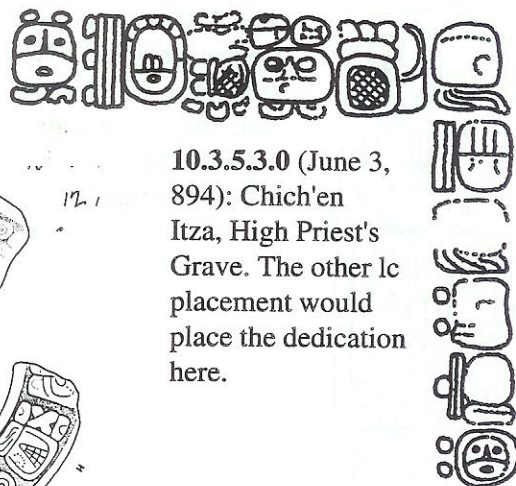
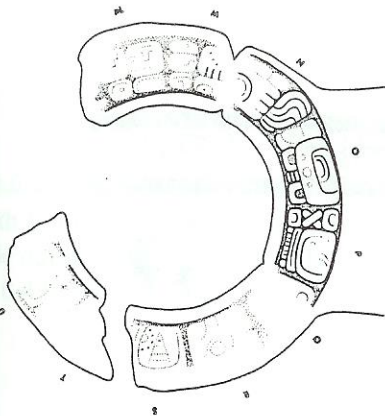
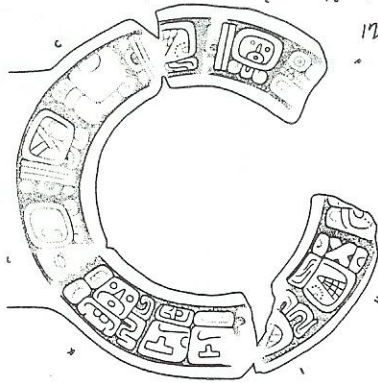
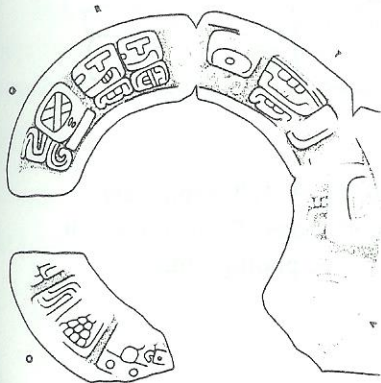
Stela in Private Collection
in Mérida: The stone of
Waxaklahun Ahaw was
planted.



Sayil St.3: The only
glyph is the large
number one with an
infix Ahaw head.



Sayil St.4: The only glyph
is a large Ahaw face with
a number one superfixed.



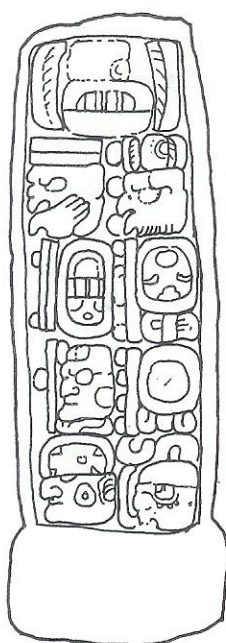
10.3.5.3.0 (June 3, 894): Chich'en Itza, High Priest's Grave. The other placement would place the dedication here.

10.3.11.15.14-10.3.11.15.15 (Jan. 13-14, 901) Uxmal Ballcourt Rings 1: *Uxulnah u tun*, "It was sculpted the stone of" K'ak' ? Chan Chak K'ak' Nalaw.



Jeff Kowalski first identified the Uxmal ruler he called Lord Chak. He associated Lord Chak with the dedication of the Ballcourt, Stela 14, and with the Palace of the Governors.



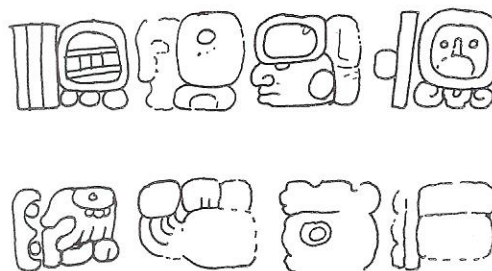


10.3.12.9.6 (Aug. 31, 901)
Tonina New Stela: No readable event, but the stela shows a standing ruler executed in a very late style using the traditional Tonina format.

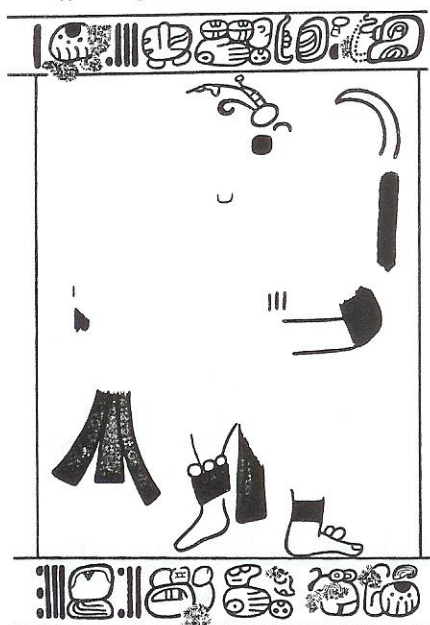
Binder J2, page 206:
10.03.12.09.06
9 Cimi 9 Mac

Binder A1, page 63:
10.03.17.09.00
9 Ahau 18 Zac

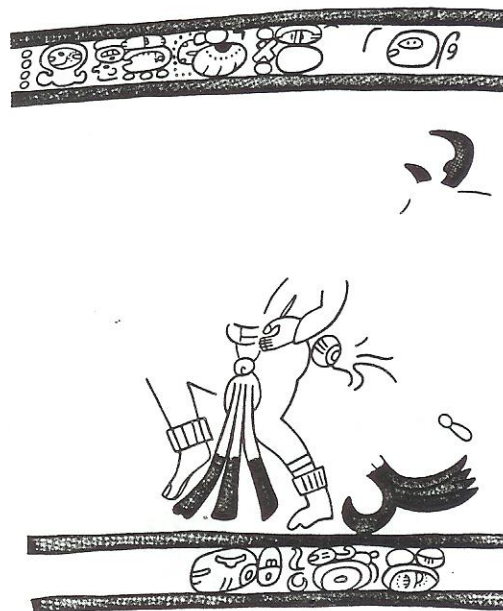
CMHI V 9 P 2, pp 27 - 28:
10.03.12.09.00
9 Ahau



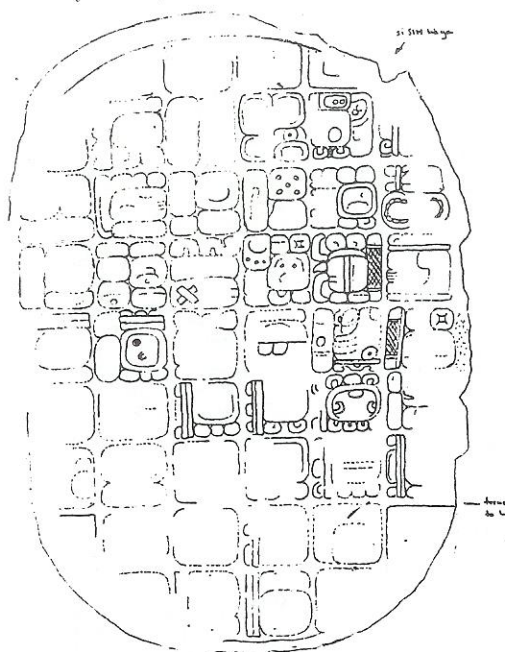
10.3.15.0.0 (Feb. 11, 904) Tonina New Stela: He scattered drops. The name is not readable in published photographs.



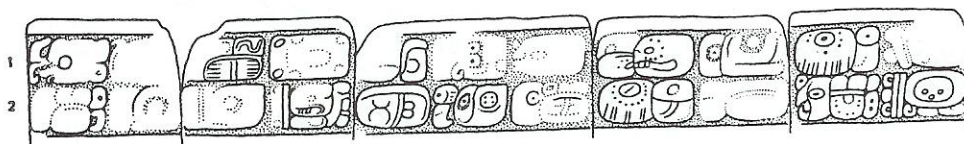
10.3.17.12.1 (Sep. 29, 906) Uxmal Capst 1: a "flat-hand" action with the *tzuk* of K'awil. Since its painted on a capstone, this text may refer to the dedication of the east building of the Monjas.



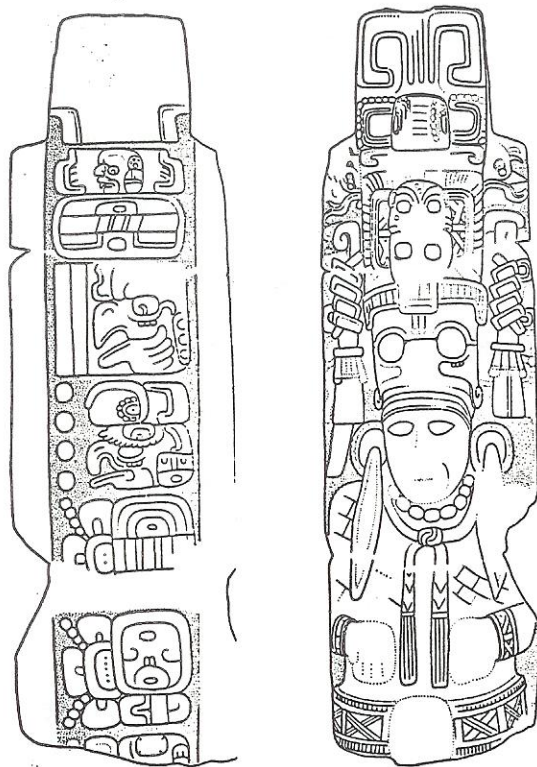
10.3.18.9.12 (Aug. 6, 907) Uxmal Capst 2: *Hu-??-ba u tzib*, "the writing was sanctified." The text refers Chak-Hunal-Ye, who may be the figure represented in the picture. This text comes from Building Y of the Monjas group.



10.4.0.0.0 (Jan. 15, 909) Uxmal 17: This badly eroded monument stands on the lowest part of the stair on the North Building of the Nunnary Quadrangle. This is Peter Mathew's field drawing. Tantalizing details can be made out including a possible birth expression and a receiving of K'awil. The last date on this side is likely to be 10.4.0.0.0 12 Ahaw.



No date, Uxmal HS: This stair was found out of place according to Ian Graham's commentary. Peter Mathews long ago suggest that the Chich'en Itza lord K'ak'-u-pakal appears at C1-D1. Mathews and Schele checked the original stone, which is now in the Visitor's Center, and confirmed his original reading. Although neither the context nor the date of this mention is clear, but the presence of this Itza name at Uxmal may hint of conflict and perhaps victory by the Itza.



10.4.0.0.0 (Jan. 15, 909) Tonina M101: The image of the king on this Tonina retains a lot of orthodox Classic-period iconography.

10.4.1.0.0 (Jan. 10, 910) Itzimte St. 6: The stela records the first Tun in K'atun 10 Ahaw, a k'atun which ends in 10.5.0.0.0. The rest of the text remains quite opaque.



The drawings in the 1995 workbook come from the following sources:

Linda assembled these by looking at the drawings in the workbook. If there are mistakes, we apologize for the errors.

Passages from Dos Pilas Bench 1 reproduced with permission of Vanderbilt University and the Petexbatun Archaeological Project. Drawings by Stephen Houston. Also see *Informe Preliminar #2, Proyecto Arqueologico Regional Petexbatun*.

William Coe: Tikal stelae; Temple 6;

in Jones, Christopher and Linton Satterthwaite, 1982, *The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tikal: The Carved Monuments*. Tikal Report No. 33:Part A. University Museum Monograph 44.

Ann Dowd: Copan Temple 18 piers, inner panel

Barbara Fash: Copan St. A, B, C, M, N, HS, Altar F', W;

Ian Graham: Field drawings: Itzan St. 17; all El Peru monuments; new Bonampak lintels; San Lucas/El Chorro monuments; Aguacatal st; Saenz Throne; Hecelchakan museum; Yaxchilan St.1, 9; Sacul 1, 9; Netherland lintel from Yaxchilan; Tonina M69; Yaxha St. 13, 31; Edzna St.9; Calakmul St 16; Seibal St. 21; Chich'en Itza Water Through, Temple of the Hiero. Jams, Casa Colorado, Akáb Tzib, Monjas lintels; Halakal lintel; the Yula lintels; Seibal St 18; Tonina M101.

Naranjo Stela 6,10,11,12,13,14,19,20: Ian Graham and Eric Von Euw, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 2, Part 1, Naranjo*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1975 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Naranjo Stela 33,32, 5; All Xunantunich stela: Ian Graham and Eric Von Euw, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 2, Part 2, Naranjo, Chuhuitz, Xunantunich*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1978 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Yaxchilan Lintels 1,2,3,5,6,7,8,9,10, 12,13,14,16, 27, 28, 29 : Ian Graham and Eric Von Euw, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 3, Part 1, Yaxchilan*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1977 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Yaxchilan Lintels 30,32, 39,40, 41,42,43,54, 58,59 : Ian Graham, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 3, Part 2, Yaxchilan*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright ©1975 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Yaxchilan Hieroglyphic Stair 2, 3, 4, 5: Ian Graham, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 3, Part 3, Yaxchilan*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1975 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Aguateca Stela 1, 2, 7: all Machaquila monuments: Ian Graham, *Archaeological Explorations in El Petén, Guatemala*. Middle American Research Institution, Tulane University, Publication 33

Xkalamk'in monuments:Ian Graham, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 4, Part 3, Uxmal, Xcalumkin*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1992 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Uxmal monuments:Ian Graham, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 4, Part 2, Uxmal*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1992 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Waxaktun monuments: Ian Graham, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 5, Part 3, Uaxactun*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1986 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Xultun monuments: Eric van Euw, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 5, Part 3*. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1978 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Ixtutz, Ixkun, and Ucanal monuments: Ian Graham, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*,

Volume 2, Part 3. Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1978 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

La Hondredéz: Eric van Euw and Ian Graham, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 5, Part 2.* Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1984 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Itzimte monuments: Eric van Euw, *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 4, Part 1.* Peabody Museum Press. Copyright © 1977 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Nikolai Grube: Calakmul St. 51, 89; all Nim Li Punit monuments; Cancuen HS 1; K'ayal; Ampara Museum; Uxbenka monuments; El Chal; Maegli fragments; El Caribe St.1; La Milpa stelae; Aguas Calientes stelae; Caracol St. 10, 17, 18, 19, BCM3, Alt. 12, 13, 22, 23, La Amelia HS 1; Puuc style stela; Mountain Cow Alt 1, 2; Santa Rosa Xtampak St3,.8; Flores St. 1; Nohpat Alt. 1; Kábah glyph panel

Stephen Houston: Arroyo de Piedra, La Amelia HS, St.2; Tamarindito Stair; Canberra stelae; Bonampak' paintings; Caracol St. 11

Keven Johnson: Tamarindito stairs.

Ruth Krochock: Chichén Itza BCM; Initial Inscription lintel; Temple of the Four Lintels; Temple of the Three lintels

MatthewLooper: All Quirigua monuments, Tonina M104, Chichén Itza High Priest's Grave

Peter Mathews: El Cayo Altar; all Bonampak' monuments; Site R, L4; Laxtunich L4; Poco Winik; Palenque IS Pot; Uxmal st.17

John Montgomery : All Piedras Negras monuments, Seibal St. 8, 9; Randall Stela

James Porter: Seibal HS;

William Ringle:

Merle Robertson:

Linda Schele: Nimli Punit Stela; DMA altar; Yaxchilan St. 9 (text);11, 12, 39, L15; Site R, L3; Copan BC; Base of St. N, Temple 22a stone, Temple 11 panels, Temple 11 bench, Reviewing Stand; 9N-82 bench; Alabaster Vase; Altars GI, L, Q, T, U, Z, G', 41; St. 8, 11; Chich'en banners; Tikal St. 11, Temple 4 Lintel 2; PN Lintel 3; Comalcalco bricks; Palenque 96 Glyphs; La Pasadita L1, L4; Cancuen panel; Tikal St22; Laxtunich L4, Fort Worth lintel; Aguateca unpublished stela; La Amelia 1; Seibal 6, 7, 10, 11; Quirigua Temple 1; Ixlu St.1; Chich'en Itza Casa Colorado; Ixlu Altar, Sacchana St. 2; Waxaktun St. 12, Tonina new stelae

Andrea Stone: Naj Tunich

David Stuart: Lacanja L.1; Tonina Altar; DO stela

Carolyn Tate: Yaxchilan Stela 20, Incised Vase from Xcalumkin region;

Unknown Artists: Site Q, GP 9; Pomona stela; MNAH Doorjamb; Ixkun St. 12; Sacul St. 6, 11; Baluarte San Pedro, Chich'en Itza capstones from the east wing of the Monjas; Labna Str. 1; K'abah doorjambs, Sayil 3, 4; Mérida private collection

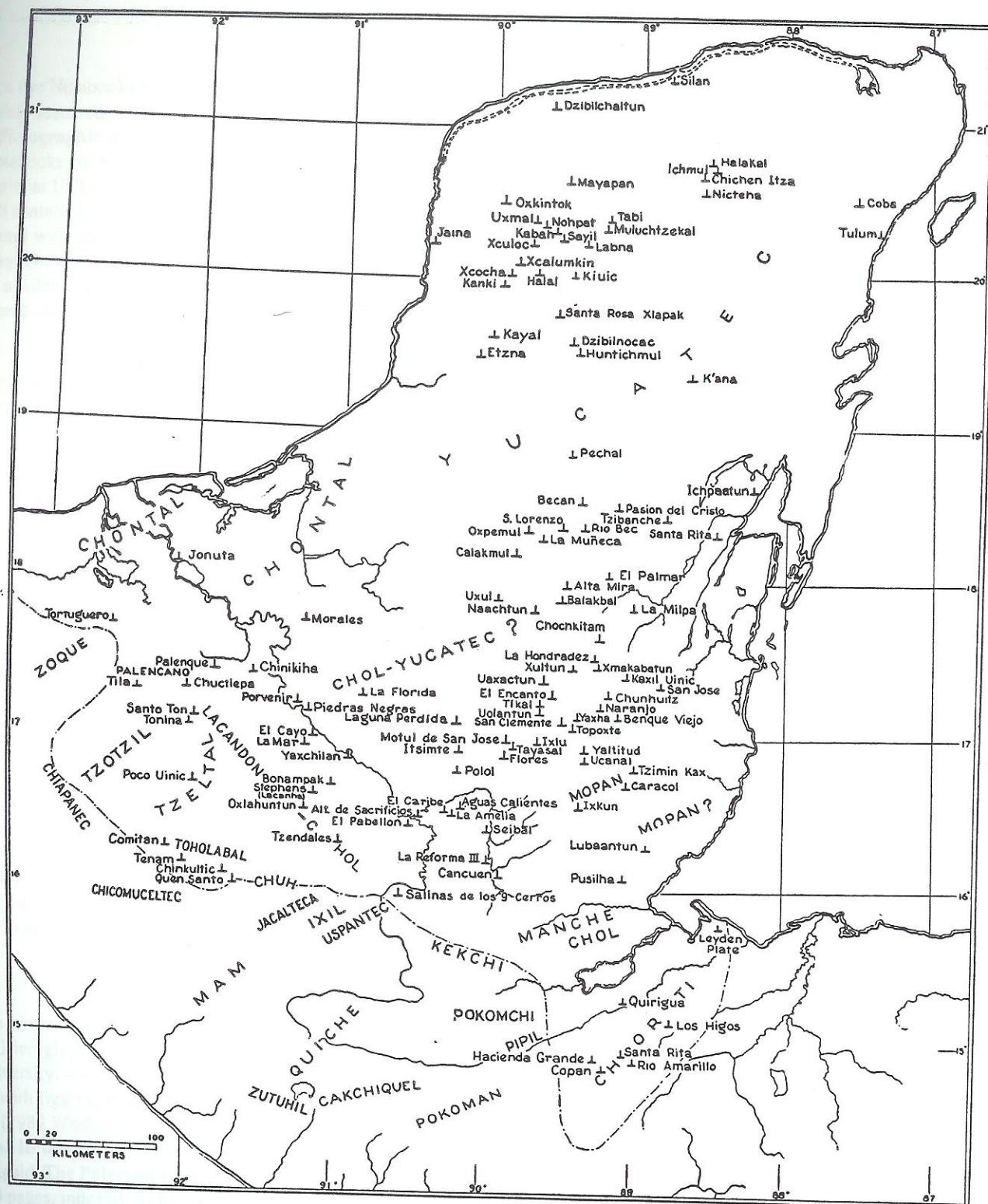


FIG. 1—MAP OF THE MAYA AREA

Showing archaeological sites with hieroglyphic texts, and main linguistic divisions as they probably were in the sixteenth century. Some minor sites in Yucatan and Campeche omitted to avoid crowded lettering. The broken line marks the approximate area of lowland Maya speech. Note how all sites with hieroglyphic inscriptions are within that area.

FROM THE WORKSHOP PRESS

MIXTEC WORKSHOP NOTEBOOKS

The first two Notebooks for the Mixtec Workshop of the Long Workshop are now available. These volumes bring together information from widely scattered, difficult to locate sources. Like the Maya Hieroglyphic Writing Workshop Notebooks, the **Notebooks for the Mixtec Pictographic Writing Workshop** will be available at and after the Meetings.

The Notebooks are prepared by John Pohl, Director of Mixtec Studies at the Texas Meetings. Dr. Pohl is a Mixtec expert and research archeologist at UCLA's Fowler Museum.

Each will contain some introductory material with updates and changes, and a body of material specific to that year's topic. Each comes spiral-bound with card stock covers.

The **First Notebook for the Mixtec Pictographic Writing Workshop at Texas** covers the Codex Zouche-Nuttall. 134 pages. \$35 postpaid, available now. The **Second Notebook for the Mixtec Pictographic Writing Workshop** covers the Codex Vindobonensis, \$35 postpaid. Available March, 1995.

PIEDRAS NEGRAS DRAWINGS

The Maya city of Piedras Negras, with its exquisite lintels, altars, and stelae, has long been a source of fascination for artist-epigrapher John Montgomery.

For years, with skilled hands and painstaking dedication, John has labored to produce a complete record of the monuments of that beautiful city on the shores of the Usumacinta River. Based on personal observation, augmented by descriptions, drawings, and photos of both early and recent visitors to the site, some 140 drawings have been completed to date.

Many of these accurate, highly-regarded drawings have circulated privately for use in classes and research workshops at the University of Texas, the Maya Meetings at Texas, the Penn Maya Weekend, and elsewhere, allowing John to benefit from comments and suggestions from art-historians and epigraphers in his production of the final versions.

Now, for the first time, the **Piedras Negras drawings of John Montgomery** are publicly available. Up to the time of printing (Dec, 1993), the very latest completed drawings will be included. Over 140 drawings, together with useful tables, king-lists, and other data-compilations and analyses generated in recent workshops. Spiral bound, with cardstock covers. \$45, postpaid. Available from the Maya Workshop Foundation, P.O. Box 5645, Austin, TX 78763, or order on the registration form.

1994 STAR WARS TRANSCRIPT

The **Proceedings of the Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop 1994: STAR WARS: Tlaloc-Venus Warfare** (The Peten Wars), by Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube, is a complete verbatim transcript of the 12 hours of lectures given at the 1994 Workshop by Drs Schele and Grube. With their approval and review, Phil Wanyerka of Cleveland State University has carefully transcribed and edited this volume. Indexed and fully illustrated with the same hieroglyphic texts, maps, and pictures used in the lectures, the 1994 **Proceedings** is an up to the moment summary of and commentary on the history of Maya warfare and alliance from 8.17.0.0.0 to 9.15.13.00, presented in chronological sequence, with relevant passages from the original hieroglyphic texts. An invaluable companion to the 1994 Notebook. Over 100 illustrations, spiral-bound with cardstock covers. \$45, postpaid. This is the same volume described below, under Maya Workshop Transcripts. Available from the Maya Workshop Foundation, P.O. Box 5645, Austin, TX 78763, or order on the registration form.

MAYA WORKSHOP TRANSCRIPTS

Complete transcripts ("Proceedings") of the lectures of Dr. Linda Schele, Peter Mathews, and Nikolai Grube at the last six Workshops on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing at the Maya Meetings at Texas are now available. Transcribed and edited by Phil Wanyerka of Cleveland State University, with the approval and corrections of Dr. Schele, each volume contains the text of approximately 12 hours of lectures, together with figures, maps, and other useful aids to following the text. Each comes spiral-bound with cardstock covers. **The Copan lectures** (1989 Workshop): 384 pages, \$45, postpaid. **The Tikal lectures** (1990 Workshop): 266 pages, indexed, \$40, postpaid. **The Yaxchilan lectures** (1991 Workshop): 254 pages, indexed, \$45, postpaid. **The Origins lectures** (1992 Workshop): 243 pages, indexed, \$45, postpaid. **The Palenque lectures** (1993 Workshop): 195 pages, indexed, \$45, postpaid. **The Star Wars lectures** (1994 Workshop): over 200 pages, indexed, \$45, postpaid. Order on the registration form.

A PALENQUE TRIAD

Now available together in one volume: the hieroglyphic inscriptions and glyph-by-glyph translations and commentary that appear in the Notebooks of the 1986, 1987, and 1988 Workshops on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. Not included are the introductory sections of these Notebooks. The **PALENQUE TRIAD** provides a conve-

nient reference to the major inscriptions at Palenque, including Palace Tablet, the Tablet of the Slaves, the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, the Temple of the Inscriptions panels, and the texts from the Temples of the Cross, Sun, and Foliated Cross. The volume comes spiral-bound with cardstock covers. \$45, postpaid.

NOTEBOOKS FOR WORKSHOPS ON MAYA HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING

Beginning with the IInd Maya Workshop in 1978, Dr. Schele has prepared a Notebook for each Workshop. These Notebooks not only serve the Workshops, but are also the only published materials documenting year by year the advance of the field of Maya hieroglyphic decipherment.

All Notebooks are spiral bound with heavy paper covers. Each is divided into two major sections: an introduction and explanation of the functioning of the glyph system; and actual glyph texts. The former section is up-dated and expanded each year to incorporate new discoveries and interpretations.

Through the XIIth Workshop in 1988, the glyph texts used in the analysis sections were Classic period tablets at Palenque, the Maya site at which the longest inscriptions occur. These texts were divided into 3 groups, one of which was analyzed each year; each year the data were up-dated and revised to reflect new interpretations and decipherments.

The XIIIth Workshop Notebook (1989) deals with the texts of Copan, the XIVth Workshop Notebook (1990) with Tikal, and the XVth Workshop Notebook (1991) with Yaxchilan. In 1992, the "Origins" Workshop (XVIth) unveiled the just-discovered creation cosmology and its mapping in the night sky. The XVIIth Workshop Notebook (1993), by Dr. Schele and Dr. Peter Mathews, contains an extensive and updated account of the dynastic history of Palenque. The 1994 and 1995 volumes, by Dr. Schele and Nikolai Grube, analyze warfare and alliance building among the Maya.

The earlier Notebooks are largely of historical interest, the information in them having been superseded by that in later Notebooks, but those still in print are listed here for the convenience of individuals and libraries desiring to obtain as complete a set of Notebooks as possible.

1977-1981: I-Vth Workshops: Out of print

1982: VIth Workshop: \$35. 104 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the Palace Tablet, the Temple XVIII jambs, and the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, at Palenque.

1983: VIIth Workshop: \$35. 127 pages divided roughly

equally between explanatory material and analyses of the 3 panels in the Temple of the Inscriptions, at Palenque.

1984: VIIIth Workshop: Back in print. \$35. 130 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the texts from the Temples of the Cross, Sun and Foliated Cross at Palenque.

1985: IXth Workshop: \$35. 108 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the Palace Tablet, the Temple XVIII jambs, the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, and the Tablet of the Slaves, at Palenque.

1986: Xth Workshop: Back in print. \$35. 129 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the 3 panels in the Temple of the Inscriptions, at Palenque.

1987: XIth Workshop: \$35. 150 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the texts from the Temples of the Cross, Sun, and Foliated Cross at Palenque.

1988: XIIth Workshop: \$35. 113 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and analyses of the Palace Tablet, the Temple XVIII jambs, the Tablet of the Slaves, and the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, at Palenque.

1989: XIIIth Workshop: \$35. 127 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and the texts of Copan.

1990: XIVth Workshop: \$35. 174 pages divided roughly equally between explanatory material and the texts of Tikal.

1991: XVth Workshop: \$35. 200 pages, divided between explanatory material and the texts of Yaxchilan.

1992: XVIth Workshop: \$35. 259 pages, divided between explanatory material, texts from the Group of the Cross at Palenque, and the 1992 discoveries about Maya cosmology.

1993: XVIIth Workshop: \$35. 165 pages, divided between introductory material and the texts and commentary relevant to the Dynastic History of Palenque.

1994: XVIIIth Workshop: \$40. 165 pages, divided between explanatory material, and images, texts, and commentary relevant to Venus / Tlaloc Warfare in Mesoamerica.

1995: XIXth Workshop: \$45. Over 100 pages, divided between explanatory material, and material on Terminal Classic/Postclassic Mesoamerica. Available after March 9, 1995.

MAYA GLYPH POSTER

The history of the accidental discovery of the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs is also the tragic story of its partial destruction. Years ago workmen digging in the area around the Palace at Palenque found a large flat limestone among the debris on the south side of the Tower. Because of its size, a workman began to break it into smaller pieces with a pickaxe, and it received several severe blows before someone discovered that its other side was carved with a long hieroglyphic inscription. Most of the text was pieced together, but some of the smaller fragments were totally shattered and never recovered. It had lain hidden under rubble for centuries, in perfect condition, until that fateful day.

Named the Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, its text preserves the calligraphic beauty of glyphs written with a brush, and indeed it may have been carved by the same master hand that painted its hieroglyphic text. All its fine qualities of detail and shading have been admirably captured in Linda Schele's drawing of its glyph text, and are faithfully reproduced in a dramatic poster. See page 7 for an example. Individual glyphs are roughly one inch by one-and-one-half inches in size, the entire text area measures over 28 inches in width by more than 12 inches in height. The poster is 35 inches wide and 23 inches high, printed in black ink on heavyweight white semi-glossy poster stock.

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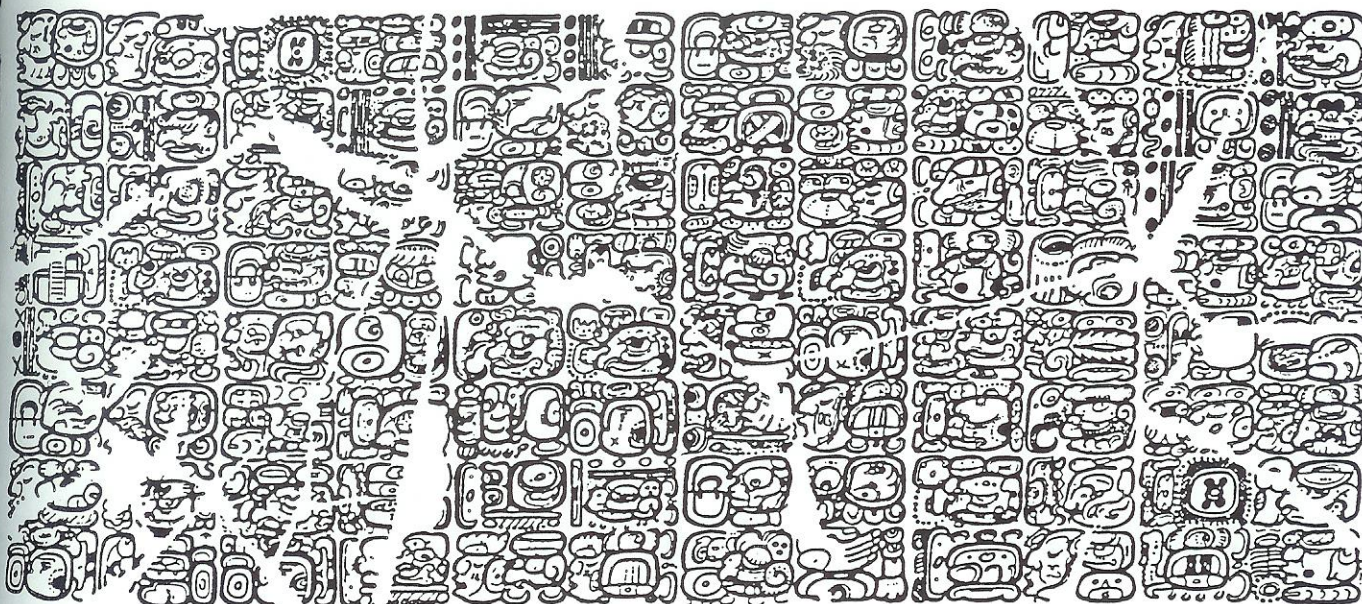
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